FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	SAN FRANCISCO	MAR 26 1969	12/10/68 - 3/6/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE I04239, WF447	[redacted] b6 b7C	jaf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 06-27-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

2-2-69

b6 b7C

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] at NY, 1/17/69.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Agents who observed subject's wife depart NYC at JFK Airport on 12/14/68 were SAS [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7C

The following individuals were contacted during December, 1968 at John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, NY, and advised of the subject's status and possible attempted travel in or out of the transportation facility:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED ☐ NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-447251-482 REC-109

MAR 27 1968

COPIES MADE:

8- Bureau (100-447251) (RM)
3- San Francisco (88-12329) (RM)
(1- USA, San Francisco)
2- New York (100-161321)

Copy to [redacted] b2
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 12/31/69
by ABF/mb

1 cc Fug. Desk Section

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV.,
Request Recd.	DEPT: ISD, [redacted] IDFU
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW: GLS
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 5/2/69
By	BY: ABF/mb

Notations

SUP. RASH. INT. SECT.

b6 b7C

5 APR 29 1969

59 MAY 5 1969

COVER PAGE 1-804

GPO : 1968 O - 299-885

ADMINISTRATIVE (cont'd)

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[redacted], Port Authority Police Dept.
[redacted] 103rd Precinct, NYCPD
[redacted] United Airlines, Security Office
[redacted], American Airlines, Security Office
[redacted], Eastern Airlines, Security Office
[redacted] Trans World Airlines, Security Office
[redacted] Delta Airlines, Security Office

It is to be noted that the NYO has submitted to the Bureau, all the pertinent informant information developed in this matter. All information has been negative to date re the location of subject and in the future, the Bureau will be kept advised of all pertinent facts developed.

For the sake of brevity, all the informant data developed is not being reported again in this report.

It is also to be noted that several other members of the BPP have been contacted by agents of the NYO, subsequent to the institution of this investigation; however, they have offered no information about the subject, either negative or positive.

The NYO has submitted daily summary airtels and/or teletypes concerning this matter and the Bureau has been kept advised of the up-to-date investigation in that manner.

The NYO will continue to afford this investigation maximum attention and will cover leads in an expeditious manner. NYO informants are constantly alert for any information re subject and contact is being maintained with the Special Unit investigating BPP matters of the NYCPD.

INFORMANTS:

On [redacted] (Protect), [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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NY 100-161321

INFORMANTS (cont'd)

On [redacted] (Protect), [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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On [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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On [redacted] (Protect), [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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On [redacted] (Protect), [redacted], [redacted] advised that he was informed by [redacted] about the possibility that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER could be living in the building.

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He stated that [redacted] The occupants mainly consist of [redacted] and other individual families, none of which have the name E. CLEAVER.

b7D

[redacted] advised that there are only three persons of minority ethnic groups in the apartments, none of which are Negroes. He knows of occupants who would harbor a fugitive like the subject and due to the alertness [redacted] no unknown person could enter the building without their knowledge.

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INFORMANTS (cont'd)

On 1/6/69 [redacted] advised that the local postman attempted to return a letter to [redacted] which was the address of E. CLEAVER. Inasmuch as there was not such person residing at the address, the letter was returned to the post office. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] additionally stated that [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] advised that [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

On [redacted] (Protect), [redacted] advised that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER had contacted the company sometime in the past, probably in October of 1968, and attempted to have them publish a new book. Doubleday officials advised CLEAVER that they were not interested in handling his books and they have had no further contact with subject. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] additionally advised that [redacted] told him that CLEAVER [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

On [redacted] furnished information about one [redacted] who reportedly [redacted] b2 b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] was interviewed on [redacted] and advised he was [redacted] (Details set forth in NY teletype, 2/5/69) b6 b7C b7D

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Copy to: 1 - USA, San Francisco, California (RM)

Report of: [redacted] b6 b7C Office: New York, New York
Date: 3/26/69

Field Office File #: 100-161321 Bureau File #: 100-447251

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

Synopsis: On 12/10/68, authorized complaint was filed by SA [redacted] before USC R. S. GOLDSMITH, San Francisco, Califonria, charging subject with violation of T18, Sec. 1073, USC, Unlawful Flight To Avoid Confinement - Parole Violation, Assault With Intent To Commit Murder, Assault With Intent To Commit Rape, Assault With Deadly Weapon. Bond recommended at $100,000.00, surety or cash. Results of negative investigation to locate subject in NY, NY set forth including interviews with associates of subject and miscellaneous investigation. Investigation continuing. ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

b6 b7C

-P-

DETAILS:

The San Francisco Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) advised by a communication dated December 10, 1968, that an authorized complaint was filed by Special Agent (SA) [redacted] on December 10, 1968, before United States Commissioner (USC) RICHARD S. GOLDSMITH, San Francisco, California, charging LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER with violation of Title 18, Section 1073, United States Code (USC), Unlawful Flight To Avoid Confinement - Parole Violation, Assault With Intent To Commit Murder, Assault With Intent To Commit Rape, and Assault With Deadly Weapon. The bond recommended was $100,000.00, surety or cash.

b6 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1967—O—273-878

This complaint was filed on the basis that California authorities requested Federal assistance in locating subject, believed to have fled the State of California, and due to a local warrant of arrest against the subject for violating of parole, issued on November 22, 1968, with instructions to appear at the California State Building, in San Francisco, California, at 9:00 a.m., on November 27, 1968. Subject failed to so appear.

At New York, New York

On December 10, 1968, [redacted] New York Hilton Hotel, 53rd Street and Sixth Avenue, advised SAS [redacted] that [redacted] b6 b7C

Further contact with various personnel of the New York Hilton Hotel failed to develop any information regarding subject [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

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b7C

I. INTERVIEWS WITH ASSOCIATES OF SUBJECT

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advised that yesterday

She does not have any information as to the current whereabouts of the subject. In the event she obtains information concerning his location, she will notify the FBI.

On [redacted] SAS [redacted] and [redacted] reinterviewed [redacted] b6 b7C

She stated that she still does not have any information as to the present whereabouts of CLEAVER. She truthfully hopes that she never does learn of his location as she does not want to be put in such a situation.

[redacted] stated again that [redacted] CLEAVER. [redacted] however, she again reiterated that she presently has no information as to CLEAVER's whereabouts. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] stated that CLEAVER does not have [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

She related further that [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] was again advised of this Bureau's interest in locating subject. She again stated that she has no such information; however, if she should learn of his location, she would hope that it would be the same time as the FBI learns of this information and the subject is apprehended. b6 b7C

On [redacted] was contacted at her residence by SAS [redacted] The Agents identified themselves and [redacted] invited the Agents into the apartment. b6 b7C

It was explained to [redacted] the purpose of the contact. [redacted] explained that if there were any questions concerning the Black Panthers, the Agents should contact the Minister of Information in Oakland, California. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that she had no idea where ELDRIDE CLEAVER could be located, adding that she had heard on the radio that he was believed to be "out of the country". b6 b7C

On January 6, 1969, SA [redacted] contacted [redacted] He stated that he did not desire to be interviewed and referred all further inquiries to his Attorney [redacted] of New York City. b6 b7C

[redacted] subscribers to telephone number [redacted] advised Bureau Agents [redacted] on [redacted] that they are aware of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; b6 b7C

however, do not know him personally. Both emphatically stated they have no information as to his location. [redacted] stated that he is employed by the [redacted] and as such doubts that he would ever come into information concerning CLEAVER's whereabouts as [redacted]

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On [redacted] was interviewed by SAS [redacted] She was contacted at her place of employment. [redacted]

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She stated that [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that she did not know the whereabouts of subject and she and KATHLEEN did not discuss the subject or his activities.

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She was advised of the provisions of the Harboring Statute and when asked if she would inform law enforcement agencies of the subject's location, should this come to her attention, she replied that she would never allow herself to be placed in a position where she might become aware of subject's whereabouts.

On [redacted] was contacted by SA [redacted]

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She stated that she has never met ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and knows little about him. [redacted]

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She advised that CLEAVER never did [redacted] CLEAVER [redacted] would not have any information concerning the whereabouts of subject.

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] currently resides at [redacted]

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[redacted] was contacted by SAS [redacted] on [redacted] He stated that he did not desire to talk to the Agents and further refused to answer any questions. He was advised of the provisions of the Harboring Statute. b6 b7C

On [redacted] SAS [redacted] interviewed [redacted] at his residence, [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that he was aware of the fact that the FBI was looking for ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and he had assumed that the FBI would be talking to him. At this point, [redacted] was advised of the FBI's jurisdiction in this matter and the specific reason for the interview. b6 b7C

He advised that he fully understood the jurisdiction of the FBI in this matter and he also realized that the FBI was interested intalking with persons who might have information as to the whereabouts of the subject.

[redacted] stated that he has not been in touch with the subject [redacted] He last saw CLEAVER in Oakland, California when he [redacted] He currently has no idea as to the present whereabouts of the subject and he would not necessarily be a receipient for such information. b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

b6
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[redacted] stated that he personally knows all the individuals who [redacted] but he feels that they would not know of his whereabouts.

II. MISCELLANEOUS INVESTIGATION

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[redacted] advised on [redacted] that he had no information concerning the present whereabouts. [redacted] with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER [redacted] but the last time he saw CLEAVER was in October, 1968.

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Royalties from the sale of the book are transferred to CLEAVER's [redacted]

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On January 7, 1969, SA [redacted] was advised by [redacted] that he had no current information to report concerning the possible whereabouts of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He recalled that at the time ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was in jail in California. [redacted]

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[redacted] stated that he had no knowledge of any ghost writer assisting ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in the writing of "Soul on Ice", or any other manuscript of CLEAVER, and could offer no information in this respect.

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On December 19, 1968, SAS [redacted] contacted [redacted] Hotel Paris, 52 West End Avenue, New York, New York. He was shown a photograph of the subject but was unable to identify anyone in the hotel as resembling the subject.

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[redacted] stated that one [redacted] had been residing at Room [redacted] in the hotel since [redacted]

[redacted] was interviewed and furnished identification reflecting that [redacted]

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On December 18, 1968, [redacted] Mayfair Apartments, 207 East 74th Street, New York, New York, was contacted by SA [redacted] and he was shown the photographs of subject. He stated that these photographs were unfamiliar to him as being identical to any occupants of the apartment house. He stated that the name E. CLEAVER was not familiar to him and he knows of no tenant or guest with this name. He also advised that there were no Negroes in the apartment building.

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On January 9, 1969, [redacted] 207 East 74th Street, New York, New York, was contacted by SAS [redacted]

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He stated that he had absolutely no connection with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and that CLEAVER most assuredly has never resided at his apartment.

[redacted]

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When questioned about the use of this stationery with a return address with the name E. CLEAVER, 207 East 74th Street, New York, New York, [redacted] advised that he would definitely assume [redacted] wrote such a letter as some sort of prank.

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He stated that [redacted] In this capacity, [redacted] may have sent out such a letter as a prank [redacted] on the subject when [redacted]

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[redacted] advised [redacted] although not actively involved, is most sympathetic with the present day student movement and activities. He further felt certain that [redacted] has no official or unofficial connection with the subject. He stated that [redacted] and is a "name dropper", often using other names [redacted] as a prank.

On January 22, 1969, SA [redacted] interviewed [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that Random House was publishing a book entitled, "Eldridge Cleaver" on February 27, 1969. He advised that [redacted]

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b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] stated that this book is made up of speeches of CLEAVER as well as articles that all have been published in the past in Ramparts magazine.

He stated that he nor anyone in Random House has not talked to CLEAVER, nor did they know of his whereabouts.

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On January 28, 1969, SA [redacted] and [redacted] interviewed [redacted]

He stated that he thought it was obvious to the FBI that he did not know the whereabouts of CLEAVER and further, he did not want to know. He also stated that if he did know, he would not tell anyone.

At this point, [redacted] was advised that it must also be obvious to him that he could be in violation of the Federal Harboring Statute as well as an accessory, after the fact, if he knew of the subject's whereabouts and did not inform the FBI. To this, [redacted] stated that he was fully aware of his involvement in a violation of the law if he failed to advise of CLEAVER's location. This is why he had previously stated that he did not want to know of his whereabouts.

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b6
b7C

[redacted] further advised that he had no knowledge of a contract entered into between Ramparts magazine, CLEAVER and Random House Publishing Company.

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[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]
He further would only again state that he had no information about the whereabouts of CLEAVER.

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On [redacted] advised

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b7C

SA [redacted] and [redacted] employs no Negro personnel [redacted] He could not recall the subject as ever being a customer in the restaurant.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] on a daily basis and is familiar with the subject through the news media and, therefore, would recall if he had been a customer.

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SUBJECT IS CONSIDERED AS ARMED AND DANGEROUS DUE TO HIS PAST INVOLVEMENT IN SHOOT-OUTS WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES.

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 7 1969

ENCIPHERED

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL
ON 01-20-2006

WA 2 NK 1 NY 1 PH 1 1155PM WJH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEFERRED 3/7/69 WJH

TO DIRECTOR NEW YORK WFO NEWARK AND PHILADELPHIA CODE

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM BALTIMORE (157-3462)

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

LEROY ELRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, W TWO FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP, BA FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN - THREE FOUR SIX TWO. BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM, BA FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN - THREE TWO FOUR ONE.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 11/22/68

[redacted] RELIABLE, ADVISED THAT ON [redacted]

[redacted]

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b6
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b7D

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (U) [redacted]

END PAGE ONE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

10/18/7

~~DECLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAH/DB~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

b6
b7C

[redacted]

APR 2 - 1969

TWO COPIES WFO

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

105-165706-3

LIMITED COPY FILED IN

Redacted to be

PAGE TWO

b6
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b7D

BOSTON AT BOSTON DISCREETLY DETERMINE SUBSCRIBER AND LOCATION OF TELEPHONE NUMBER [redacted] AND IDENTIFY. (U)

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

WFO AT WDC, DETERMINE SUBSCRIBER OF AUTO REGISTRATION [redacted] AND CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION. b6 b7C b7D

FOR INFO OF NEW YORK, NEWARK, AND PHILADELPHIA. MAIL COPY TO BOSTON.

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN UTILIZING THIS INFORMATION SO NOT TO JEOPARDIZE SOURCE WHO IS [redacted]

END

WA...RM

FBI WASH DC

NK..

CC - Sullivan

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-56 (Rev. 10-29-63)

DATE: 06-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
06-27-2031

FBI

Date: 3/14/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: LEGAT, MEXICO CITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b6
b7C

[redacted]
SM - C; RM
BUfile 100-433795
MEXfile 100-2020 (P) (U)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM
BUfile 100-165760
MEXfile 100-3046 (P) (U)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239, W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
BUfile 100-447251
MEXfile 100-3184 (P) (U)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) BY MLK DATE 12/6/78

CLASSIFIED BY 6922 WNP/ams on 2-24-78
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

REFERENCES

Mexico City cables 2/25 and 26; 3/3 and 13/69 (the 3/13/69 cable under CLEAVER caption); Bureau teletypes to Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco, 2/27 and 3/5/69. (U)

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On [redacted] advised that [redacted] (U)

16 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(3 - Los Angeles)
(4 - San Francisco)
C (1 - 88-12329) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1 - San Diego) (INFO)
3 - Mexico City (1 - 100-2020)
(1 - 100-3046)
(1 - 100-3184) 100-447251

Copy to [illegible]
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 3/24/69
by [illegible]

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JCP:kEh
(19)

NOT RECORDED
16 APR 9 1969

Approved: _____ Special Agent in Charge

60 APR 15 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

MEX 100-2020
MEX 100-3046
MEX 100-3184

(U)

CONFIDENTIAL

b1

[redacted]

(c)

For the information of the Bureau and interested offices, in an effort to determine the [redacted]

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This information is set out in the event the Bureau should desire to have WFO identify this individual to determine whether or not [redacted]

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CONFIDENTIAL

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAR 28 1969

FBI MINNAPLS

URGENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AMC TAM/MLT/EHL

7:36 PM 3/28/69 URGENT CMH

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: MINNEAPOLIS

ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING THE ARREST OF THREE INDIVIDUALS MARCH FIVE NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, ON CHARGES ARISING FROM UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA CAMPUS DISORDER, RACIAL MATTERS.

COMMEMORATION OF THE DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., APRIL FOUR, NEXT, RACIAL MATTERS.

[redacted]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO SAN FRANCISCO.

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[redacted]

RELIABLE SOURCES STATE PERIOD MARCH THIRTYONE TO APRIL THREE, NEXT, SET AS LIBERATION WEEK, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, (UM), TO CULMINATE IN A MASS PROTEST MARCH ON CITY - COUNTY BUILDING, MINNEAPOLIS, WHERE THREE BLACK STUDENTS ARE TO APPEAR

END PAGE ONE

100-4[illegible]
NOT RECORDED
140 APR [illegible] 1969

17 APR 8 1969

FAULKNER
NINE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-112228-43

60 APR 21 1969

FOR ARRAIGNMENT, HAVING BEEN INDICTED BY LOCAL GRAND JURY FOR PARTICIPATION IN A TAKE - OVER OF MORRILL HALL, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, IN JANUARY, NINETEEN SIXTYNINE.

[redacted] STATES THIS DATE HE DOES NOT KNOW CLEAVER, HAS NO INFORMATION AS TO HIS WHEREABOUTS OR FUTURE PLANS AND NO INDICATION HE INTENDS TO COME TO MINNEAPOLIS. [redacted]

[redacted]

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CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATIVE..

REMYRAD MARCH TWENTYSEVEN LAST.

LHM WILL FOLLOW UNDER FIRST TWO CAPTIONS OF INSTANT COMMUNICATION.

will send copy to Legat

END

ERT

FBI WASH DC

P

CC: MR. GALE

0-1 (Rev. 3-5-64)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : SAC, San Francisco (Your file 100-55520) DATE: ~~3/24/69~~ 3/26/69

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-447251) Room No. [redacted]

☑ Post in file and destroy 0-1 (*For SOG use only*)

SUBJECT : LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM-BPP

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☑ Last RM report 6/28/68. Subject in Priority I and 6 month report past due. This is separate and apart from other reports in UFAC case.

☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted ☑ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted Being handled under new regulations on priorities & will submit

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution

SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___

☐ 5. Submit ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☑ report By 6-30-69 UACB. ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by MAR 26 9 26 AM '69 (Date)

(*Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.*)

FBI - SAC - SF

100-55520

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O - 781-652
907-7 48

SECRET

DATE: 06-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
06-27-2031

1 - Mr.
1 - Mr. [redacted] (1517)
1 - Mr.

b6
b7C

3/17/69

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER DATED 01-30-2006

CODE

CABLEGRAM

DEFERRED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO LEGATS LONDON
PARIS
BONN

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM

REBUCABS MARCH SEVEN SIXTY-NINE CONCERNING [redacted]

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b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
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1 - SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)
1 - CHICAGO (157-1291)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)
1 - 105-137683 [redacted]
1 - 100-447251 (Eldridge Cleaver)

b6
b7C

100-447251

NOT RECORDED
170 MAR 19 1969

RMH:mms
(10)

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DUPLICATE YELLOW OF WIRE TRANSMITTED

DUPLICATE YELLOW

MAR 2 1969

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT LONDON
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM

b1 [redacted] (S)

LEGATS ALERT SOURCES CONCERNING CLEAVER. COPIES MAILED

SAN FRANCISCO AND CHICAGO.

NOTE:

Source of above information is [redacted] Information concerning Cleaver has been coordinated with Special Investigative Division.

b2
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION
MAR 22 1969

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI MINNAPLS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC

830PM URGENT 3-22-69 RLT/MLT/EHL

TO DIRECTOR, CHICAGO, NEW YORK, NEWARK AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM MINNEAPOLIS

b6
b7C

[redacted]

ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING THE ARREST OF THREE INDIVIDUALS, MARCH FIVE, NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, ON CHARGES ARISING FROM UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA CAMPUS DISORDER. RACIAL MATTERS.

100-447251

b6
b7C

[redacted]

COMMEMORATION OF THE DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., APRIL FOUR NEXT, RACIAL MATTERS.

NOT RECORDED
165 APR 1 1969

[redacted]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO - SAN FRANCISCO.

2 MAR 28 1969

RELIABLE SOURCES STATE PERIOD MARCH THIRTYONE TO APRIL THREE, NEXT, SET AS LIBERATION WEEK, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, TO CULMINATE IN A MASS PROTEST MARCH ON CITY - COUNTY BUILDING, MINNEAPOLIS, WHERE THREE BLACK STUDENTS ARE TO APPEAR FOR ARRAIGNMENT, HAVING

END PAGE ONE

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NEB~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, ~~CHICAGO~~ 7010, CD
HOW FOWD: R/S
DATE FOWD: 3/25/69
BY:

1 XEROX
MAR 1969

59 APR 9 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

BEEN INDICTED BY LOCAL GRAND JURY FOR PARTICIPATION IN A TAKE OVER OF MORRILL HALL, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, IN JANUARY, NINETEEN SIXTYNINE.

FOLLOWING INFORMATION RECEIVED THIS DATE FROM [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE TWO

b6
b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

MI SOURCE IS

b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE THREE

PROTECT IDENITY AND CONSIDER POSSIBILITY THIS MAY BE A PLANT.

CHICAGO ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF [redacted]

NEW YORK INTERVIEW [redacted] PROTECT MI SOURCE.

MINNEAPOLIS INDICES INDICATE ONE [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] NO FURTHER IDENTIFICATION OF [redacted] AT THIS TIME.

NEWARK ADVISE IF ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE THAT [redacted] YOUR DIVISION, [redacted]

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE IF [redacted]

MINNEAPOLIS WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH MI SOURCE AND WILL BE ALERT FOR POSSIBILTY CLEAVER MAY COME HERE.

CLEAVER ALLEGEDLY HAS ENGAGED POLICE OFFICERS IN GUN BATTLE IN THE PAST. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

MSE

FBI WASH DC

cc-M. Gale

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/WALTER20----

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 24 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK

5:55 PM URGENT 3-24-69 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, SAN FRANCISCO AND MINNEAPOLIS

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON (PLAIN)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE,
WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM-BPP; UFAC- ASSAULT
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER OO: SF.

RE MP TEL MARCH TWENTY TWO LAST, ALSO CAPTIONED "ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING THE ARREST OF THREE INDIVIDUALS, MARCH FIVE NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA ON CHARGES ARISING FROM UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA CAMPUS DISORDER, RM AND COMMEMORATION OF THE DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., APRIL FOUR NEXT, RM."

ON MARCH TWENTY THREE INSTANT, [redacted] NEW YORK HILTON HOTEL, AVENUE OF AMERICAS AND FIFTY THIRD STREET, NYC, ADVISED [redacted]

100-447251-484

3 MAR 28 1969

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

END PAGE ONE

51 APR 4 1969

TELETYPED TO: SF MAR 1969

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

NR

[redacted]

b6
b7C

MP INTERVIEW [redacted] AT ABOVE ADDRESS AND ATTEMPT TO
b6
b7C
ASCERTAIN HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

~~WA...PLAIN OR CODE GA~~

~~PLAIN~~

WA...NSM

FBI WASH DC

R RELA

CC: MR. SULLIVAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

SAC, Sacramento - Enc. (13) 3/28/69

REC-10

Director, FBI (100-447251) -485

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239
W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Attached for each office is one copy of a letter received at the Bureau dated March 25, 1969, from the District Attorney, Nevada City, California. Also enclosed for Sacramento are 12 copies of the Wanted Flyer on subject. If office files contain no information precluding contact with the District Attorney, Sacramento should promptly furnish him with the enclosed Wanted Flyers and at the same time determine if he has any information which would be of assistance in locating the subject.

2 - San Francisco (88-12329) - Enc.

MAILED 23
MAR 28 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CWH:egm
(6)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

HAROLD A. BERLINER
DISTRICT ATTORNEY

OFFICE OF THE
DISTRICT ATTORNEY
COUNTY OF NEVADA
COURTHOUSE ANNEX
NEVADA CITY, CALIFORNIA 95959
TELEPHONE 265-2461 AREA 916

RONALD L. MAC MILLEN
ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY
FRANK E. VARGAS
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

March 25, 1969

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20535

Gentlemen:

Would you kindly send me one dozen (12) of the large wanted posters for Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, your number 214,830 B.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD A. BERLINER
District Attorney

HAB/ss

REC-10 100-447251-485

APR 1 1969

Let to SC+SF
3-28-69
CWH:egm

9-Bgelsted

CORRESPONDENCE

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-29-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 3/24/69

Transmit the following in TAM/MLT/EHL (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 3/21/69.

Check of phone calls made from subject's former residence, San Francisco, to numbers in Los Angeles area CAL reveals that parties called include [redacted] b6 b7C

CAL [redacted] Investigation re other numbers continuing.

[redacted] b6 b7C

REC-10

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

4 MAR 27 1969

3 - Bureau
1 - San Juan (INFO)
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(6)

[redacted] b6 b7C

Approved: Sent M Per

Special Agent in Charge

59 APR 11 1969

SECRET

DATE: 06-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
06-27-2031

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

3/26/69

CODE

and forwarded. Telephonically cleared by [redacted] b6 b7C

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 01-30-2006

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 26 1969
503PM EST
ENCIPHERED

TO LEGAT OTTAWA

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251) — 487

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, I.O. FOUR TWO THREE NINE, W.F. FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

LEGAT MEXICO CITY ADVISES THAT ON MARCH TWENTY, LAST, (S)

[redacted] b1

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

JRF:egm
(4)

APR 8 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SECRET

CABLE TO OTTAWA
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

(S)

MEXICO CITY INDICES NEGATIVE RE [redacted] b1

[redacted] LEGAT, OTTAWA THROUGH SOURCES MAKE NECESSARY

INQUIRIES AT [redacted] TO DETERMINE IF NEGRO MALE IDENTICAL b7D

WITH SUBJECT CLEAVER.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SECRET

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 25 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STATE 08 & 09

URGENT 3-25-69

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

FROM LEGAT MEXICO CITY NO. 121 & 122

DATE: 07-19-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
07-19-2031

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEVER - FUGITIVE, I.O. NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE, W.F. NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

b1

(S)

100-447251-98

Cable to Ottawa
3-26-69
JRF:eqm

b6
b7C

XEROX
MAR 1969

SECRET

b6
b7C
b7D

REQUESTED THAT HE NOT BE IDENTIFIED AS SOURCE OF ABOVE INFORMATION.

[redacted] b1

[redacted] (S)

MEXICO CITY INDICES NEGATIVE RE [redacted] (S)

[redacted] BUREAU REQUESTED TO HAVE OTTAWA MAKE NECESSARY b1

INQUIRIES A [redacted] ADDRESS TO DETERMINE IF NEGRO MALE b7D

IDENTICAL WITH SUBJECT.

MEXICO CITY DIRECTING MEX - THREE FOUR TO CONDUCT ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION AT ZIHUATENEJO AND ACAPULCO FOR ADDITIONAL DETAILS RE DESCRIPTION AND ACTIVITIES OF ABOVE PAIR.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

RECEIVED: 9:14 PM LRC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 3/25/69

Transmit the following in TAM/DG/EHL
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 3/24/69.

Confidential source of the New York Office advises

[redacted] b7D

Following suspected BPP members, San Francisco Bay area, interviewed and state no knowledge of CLEAVER's whereabouts:

b6
b7C [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

4 MAR 27 1969

3 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(5)

b6
b7C

RACIAL INTEL.

Approved: 56 APR 9 1969 Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 2/13/69

Transmit the following in
(Type in plaintext or code)

TAM/DG/EHL

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-450482)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161330)

SUBJECT: [redacted] b6 b7C
RACIAL MATTERS
SECURITY MATTERS - C

Re Bureau airtel to NY, 2/10/69, captioned as above, and WFO airtel to Bureau, 2/1/69, captioned "LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka FUGITIVE IO 4239; WF-447; RM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER. (OO:SF)".

[redacted] b6 b7C

5- Bureau (RM)
(1- 100-~~447251~~ 447251)
(1- 100-448736)
3- Washington Field (RM)
(2- [redacted] b6 b7C
(1- 88-7106)
1- San Francisco (88-12329) (INFO) (RM)
1- New York (100-161372) ([redacted] (43)
1- New York (100-161321) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER) (43)
1- New York

100-447251

~~100-447251~~

LJM: tf
(13)

CARBON COPY

NOT RECORDED
78 MAR 1 1969

1- Supv. #43

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-450482-8

56 MAR 7 1969

Approved: Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

56 MAR 12 1969

MAR 12 1969

MAR 21 1969

[redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

In view of above fact it is apparent individual in [redacted] and is therefore not identical with LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as set forth in referenced WFO airtel.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

[redacted]

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 26 1969

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

2:11PM DEFERRED 3-26-69 MRK

TO DIRECTOR AND MINNEAPOLIS

FROM CHICAGO (157-3871) (P) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/27/81 BY

b6
b7C

STAG

ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING THE ARREST OF THREE INDIVIDUALS, MARCH FIVE, LAST, BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, ON CHARGES ARISING FROM UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA CAMPUS DISORDER. RM.

b6
b7C

COMMEMORATION OF THE DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., APRIL FOUR, NEXT, RM.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP); UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED INSTANT THAT CHECK OF

b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE ONE

SECIDIU, DCSI, SS, ISD

100-441251

NOT RECORDED
202 APR 10 1969

MERCX

MAR 3 APR 22 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

SOURCE STATED DISCREET INQUIRY AMONG CHICAGO PANTHER LEADERS AND MEMBERS HAS FAILED TO DEVELOP ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING LIBERATION WEEK AT UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, OR ANY MEMBER KNOWING ANYONE ATTENDING SCHOOL IN MINNESOTA.

CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MILITARY ALERTED TO POSSIBLE TRAVEL OF CHICAGO PANTHERS TO MINNESOTA.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE MINNEAPOLIS TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED MARCH TWENTY-TWO, LAST. SOURCE IS [redacted] WHO CONTINUES ASSIGNED TO THIS MATTER. REGISTERED AIRMAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

b2
b7D

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC

CC: MR. GALE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr b6
Bishop b7C
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: March 28, 1969

FROM [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
I.O. 4239, WANTED FLIER 447
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

[redacted]

Reference is made to my memorandum of March 19, 1969.

b1 [redacted] (S)

b6
b7C

b1 [redacted]

ACTION:

(S)

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Fugitive Section and the Racial Intelligence Section.

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - Liaison
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

DATE: 06-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
06-27-2031

SJP:clb
(5)

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 04-04-2006

REC- 88 100-447351-189

11 APR 3 1969

SECRET

6 0 APR 14 1969

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

FBI

Date 4/1/69

Transmit the following in TELETYPE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 3/28/69.

[redacted] in interview by agents of the Minneapolis Office on [redacted] stated that he does not know subject and has no information as to his whereabouts or future plans. [redacted] has no indication that CLEAVER intends to come to Minneapolis. [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

100-447251-448

3 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)

REC-15

2 APR 3 1969

RCD:ab
(5)

b6
b7C

FUG. SUP.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

4/4/69

airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

To: SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239
W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

This confirms information telephonically furnished SAC today. Legat, Ottawa telephonically furnished following as [redacted] Legat advises [redacted] to contact in this matter.

b6
b7C
b7D

NOTE: Information furnished by [redacted] to SAC.

b6
b7C

CWH:egm
(4)

MAILED 3
APR - 3 1969
COMM-FBI

REC- 79

100-447251-491

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

5 APR 9 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

19 APR 4 1969

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 28 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

OTT 02 5-00 PM JHC

RGENT 3-29-69

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-46) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

REBUTEL THREE TWO SIX LAST.

b6
b7C
b7D

No record made

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

1 XEROX

APR 4 1969

6 MAR 1969

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

NA 3/30/69

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHZ

FBI

Date: 3/27/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.
Mr.

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SF

RC

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 3/26/69.

b6
b7C

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

REC 17 100-447251-493

APR 4 1969

3 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:pas
(5)

Approved: 56 APR 11 1969 Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 3/28/69

Transmit the following in TAM/DG/EHL
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b6
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF#447
RM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SF

RC

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 3/27/69.

Following persons in San Francisco Bay Area, believed familiar with BPP activities, contacted and advised they had no knowledge of Subject's whereabouts:

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

REC 17 100-447251-494

APR 4 1969

3 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:pas
(5)

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

56 APR 11 1969

FD 36 (Rev 5-22 64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date 4/2/69

Transmit the following in TAM/DG/EHL
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 4/1/69.

A confidential source of the New York Office, with whom insufficient contact has been made to determine reliability, advised that the subject was [redacted] The source advised subject [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Source not aware of present location of subject, but advised [redacted]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(4)

REC 25 100-447251 495

APR 4 1969

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Approved: APR 1 1969 Sent M Per

Special Agent in Charge

53 APR 1 1969

FUG. SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-~~477251~~) AM/DG/EPA DATE: 3/29/69

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2588) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO 4239, WF #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

Re CI airtel to Bureau, 2/3/69; Bureau airtel to AL, 1/30/69, and CI let to Bureau, 1/22/69.

All racial sources and informants in the Cincinnati Division have remained alert for information re the subject's present whereabouts and none of them have been able to develop any information to indicate the subject is now or has been in the Cincinnati Division. These sources and all newly-developed sources will continue to place top priority on developing information regarding the location of the subject.

CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
(1 - 88-12329)
13 -Cincinnati
(1 - Each Agent Squad #5)

JTP/jmh
(18)

REC 26 100-477251-496

9 APR 7 1969

FBI. SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

60 APR 11 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/1/69

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (88-256) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
Eldridge Cleaver
Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.
I. O. #4239 - FUGITIVE
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

WF#447

In accordance with instructions in Bureau cable dated 3/17/69, various police sources of the Paris Office were alerted as to the fugitive status of CLEAVER and the possibility that he could be in Europe. Copies of I.O. #4239 were furnished to police services.

b6
b7C

During a visit to Morocco on [redacted] information had been received regarding the possible presence of CLEAVER in Marrakech, Morocco [redacted] stated that he had no further details regarding this.

b6
b7C

On contacting [redacted] he advised that information had been received by [redacted] from an American tourist, not further identified, that someone resembling CLEAVER had been seen in a cafe in Marrakech. The exact time was not indicated [redacted] stated that he had [redacted] who advised that [redacted] at Marrakech and located the individual who resembled

100-447251-497

REC-31

2 APR 7 1969

4 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - San Francisco, Info)
2 - Paris
(1 - PAR 157-24, [redacted])
NWP:eim
(6)

b6
b7C

1cc-SF
4-11-69
1cc-T's

70 APR 14 1969

5010-106-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CLEAVER. The individual was identified as [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] was contacted on 3/27/69. He confirmed that the individual resembling CLEAVER had been identified as [redacted] who was accompanied [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

Since it appears that the question of CLEAVER's presence in Morocco was resolved by the Moroccan Police, no further inquiry is being conducted in this regard. However, the Moroccan Police and the Consul of the American Embassy, Rabat, are being furnished with copies of I.O. #4239 pertaining to CLEAVER. They are being requested to remain alert for any further information which may be received.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60324
TAM/DG/BW

VIA TELETYPE
APR 8 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

OTT 04 5-05 PMJHC

URGENT 4-8-69

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-46) 2P

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

REMYTEL THREE TWO NINE LAST AND SAN FRANCISCO AIRTEL THREE TWELVE LAST.

[redacted] ADVISE [redacted]

[redacted] NOT

b6
b7C
b7D

INTERVIEWED RE SUBJECT IN VIEW PAST TENDENCY TO CALL LAWYER.

[redacted]

THIS PHASE INVESTIGATION CONTINUING. REC 107 100-447251-498

[redacted]

b6
b7C

1 XEROX

APR 1969

TELETYPED TO:

FT B 6 APR 16 1969

3 APR 8 1969

WA...43

FBI NEW YORK

5-03 PM URGENT 3-28-69 WPK

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 28 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 DETROIT

AND LOS ANGELES (CODE)

SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN RACIAL MATTERS - BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER (OO-SAN FRANCISCO).

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS BEEN MADE TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY, ADVISED ON

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

SOURCE STATED THAT WHEN [redacted]

REC-49 100-447251-499

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

APR 11 1969

XEROX

LA, SF

MAR 1969

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

SOURCE UNAWARE OF PRESENT LOCATION OF SUBJECT, STATED

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NYO MAINTAINING CLOSE CONTACT WITH SOURCE FOR ADDITIONAL INFO RE WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT. P.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

WA...R RMC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 3/26/69

Transmit the following in TAM/DG/EHL (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SF

[redacted] b6 b7C

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 3/25/69.

Minneapolis advised that source stated that 3/31/69 to 4/3/69 is set as Liberation Week at University of Minnesota, to culminate in a mass protest march on City-County Building, Minneapolis. Military Intelligence, St. Paul, Minnesota advised that [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

Investigation New York reflects that [redacted] b6 b7C

100-447251-500

REC-49

12 APR 8 1969

3 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
RCD:pas
(5)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

66 APR 11 1969

SF 88-12329
RCD:pas

Leads set out to Minneapolis to interview [redacted] and attempt to ascertain Subject's whereabouts. b6 b7C

1 - Mr. [redacted] (Room 1517) b6 b7C
1 - Mr.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHB ON 02-24-2006

3/5/69

Airtel

CONFIDENTIAL

To: SACs, Los Angeles (157-3520)
San Francisco

From: Director, FBI (157-11938)

b6 b7C [redacted]

RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re:Airtel 2/24/69, outlining results of initial interviews with subject.

Los Angeles should insure that the interviews of the subject are thorough and penetrative. San Francisco should insure that Los Angeles possesses all information needed to conduct the type of interview which is essential. If Los Angeles believes participation of a San Francisco Agent in these interviews is essential, a recommendation to this effect should be submitted with full justification. (U)

Insure that FD-302s are prepared. Determine if [redacted] is willing to testify. Interview him thoroughly for leads concerning whereabouts of Eldridge Cleaver and knowledge

b6 b7C b7D [redacted] (U)

Interviews should include, but not be confined to, above items. (U)

b6 b7C b7D Keep Bureau advised in detail concerning information furnished by [redacted] (U)

1 - 105-165706
1 - 100-447251

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED
165 MAR 24 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Rec'd 157-11938-8

kk/mms (9)

CONFIDENTIAL

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAR 28 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-24-2006

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

60309 AUC
NAT ... EHL

APR 2 1969

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC

[redacted] b6 b7C

FBI NEW HAVEN

350PM URGENT 4/2/69 LAL

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM NEW HAVEN (157-975)

Fug. SUPVR.
1519

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUG. IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE. EF FOUR FOUR SEVEN.

RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO SF.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] BRIDGEPORT,CT.,PD., THIS

DATE ADVISED THAT [redacted] RE BPP LEADERS b6 b7C b7D

WAS FOUND IN [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] ADVISED LIST CONTAINED IN PART THE FOLLOWING:

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

b7D NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTED TO IDENTIFY [redacted]

[redacted] AND DETERMINE THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO CLEAVER. AIRTEL

FOLLOWS.

REC-9 100-447251-501

END

MKA

FBI WASH DC

b6 b7C

18 APR 8 1969

XEROX

COMM. SULLIVAN

60 APR 14 1969

APR 1969

FD-36 (Rev 5-22 64)

Mr Tolson
Mr DeLoach
Mr Mohr
Mr Bishop
Mr Casper
Mr Callahan
Mr Conrad
Mr Felt
Mr Gale
Mr Rosen
Mr Sullivan
Mr Tavel
Mr Trotter
Tele Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI

Date 4/2/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAMTOG/EHL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

b6
b7C

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 4/1/69 and mytel to Bureau 4/2/69.

Neighborhood source,

b6
b7C
b7D

A & D

REC-9 100-447251-502

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(4)

APR 1969

b6
b7C

RACIAL INTEL

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

APR 14 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

VIA TELETYPE
APR 2 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON ---08---
TAM/DG/EHL

7-28 PM PST DEFERRED 4/2/69 WEH

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) ---ENCODE---

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P) /3P/

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DASH FUGITIVE, I. O. NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE; WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM DASH BPP; UFAC DASH ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C
b7D

END OF PAGE ONE.

b7D

XEROX
APR 1969

TELETYPED TO:

FTB
70 APR 14 1969

11:30 4/2/69
above info. furnished by telephone to Legat Ottawa with instructions to advise Bureau before noon 4/3/69

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

PAGE TWO.

SF 88 - 12329.

HE IS WILLING TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH FBI.

END OF PAGE TWO.

SF 88 - 12329.

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] THE BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO HAVE LEGAT OTTAWA IMMEDIATELY FURNISH THE NAME AND ADDRESS OF A [redacted] AND ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO BY TEL IMMEDIATELY FOR FURNISHING TO [redacted] ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE WITH [redacted] TO NOTIFY IMMEDIATELY UPON [redacted] FOR ANY CHANGE. ANY INQUIRY ABOVE ADDRESS SHOULD BE HELD IN ABEYANCE OR SHOULD BE VERY DISCREET IN EVENT [redacted] LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FOLLOWS.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END.

VXC FBI WASH DC

cc-Mr. Sullivan

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

APR 9

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED FBI
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED Date: 4/5/69
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (157-194) RUC

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO No. 4239; WF No. 447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re New York airtel to the Bureau, 3/24/69.

On [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is [redacted] informed SA [redacted] The informant obtained no information regarding CLEAVER in recent conversations with [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

On [redacted] informed SA [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

It will be noted that an attempt was made by Agents to interview [redacted] early in this investigation, but she refused to talk to them.

b6
b7C

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

110 REC-19 100-447251-504

17 APR 8 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (88-12329) (RM)
1 - Albuquerque
WRJ:rag
(5)

FUG/SUP.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

5 APR 15 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 4/3/69

Transmit the following in TAM/DG/EHL (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

b6
b7C

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 4/2/69.

Name of [redacted] which was furnished by Bureau, was furnished to [redacted] this date.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

REC-32

100-447251-505

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(4)

APR 9 1969

4APR 8 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL INTELSECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

100-442251

NOT RECORDED
191 APR 8 1969

70 APR 15 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-27-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 4/4/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
IO 4239
WF 447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER

OO: SF

Re San Francisco tel to Bureau 4/2/69 and Bureau telephone call to San Francisco, 4/3/69.

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of an LHM and a photograph of [redacted]

It is requested that the LHM and photograph be transmitted to Legat, Ottawa, for appropriate coverage of the lead at Downsview, Ontario, Canada.

The sources used in the LHM are as follows:

First source is [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Second source is [redacted]

Third source is [redacted]

Fourth source is [redacted] (per request);

Fifth source is [redacted]

Sixth source is [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

COPIES DESTROYED
343 MAY 4 1971

15 APR 10 1969

(6)-Bureau (Enc. 7) (AM-RM)
4-San Francisco
(1-100-55520)
(1-100-36841)
RCD:kah
(7)

1cc & 5 LHM - leg Ottawa
4-8-69 LHM filed
0-7

APR 15 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

SF 88-12329
RCD:kah

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Seventh source is [redacted]

Eighth source is [redacted]

The enclosed LHM is classified "Confidential" because information reported therein is from informants of continuing value.

CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL
ON 02-24-2006

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

April 4, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ELDRIDGE LEROY CLEAVER

Cleaver, who was paroled from California State Prison, December, 1966, where he was serving a sentence for assault with a deadly weapon, assault with intent to commit murder, and assault with intent to commit rape, failed to report to State Parole Authorities, San Francisco, California, on November 27, 1968, as ordered following revocation of parole. Following the issuance of a state warrant as a parole violator, a federal warrant was issued on December 10, 1968, charging Cleaver with unlawful flight to avoid confinement -- assault with a deadly weapon, assault with intent to commit murder, and assault with intent to commit rape, and parole violation. Cleaver's whereabouts are unknown.

Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP). He was also nominated as the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) candidate for President of the United States in the 1968 general election. He is the author of a book entitled "Soul on Ice". Cleaver allegedly has engaged police officers in a gun battle in the past.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

The PFP is a legitimate political party that qualified for the 1968 elections in numerous states throughout the United States.

The following is Cleaver's physical description:

Name	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, also known as Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-447251-506

ENCLOSURE

Race	Negro
Age	33
Date of Birth	August 31, 1935 August 13, 1935 August 31, 1933
Place of Birth	Little Rock, Arkansas
Height	6'2"
Weight	185-195 pounds
Build	Medium
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Medium Brown
Scars and Marks	Numerous pock scars on back; pierced left ear lobe, sometimes wears small gold earring; shotgun wound left foot and ankle
Occupations	Writer, reporter, magazine worker, magazine editor, clerk, laborer

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Calif.

[redacted] A source advises that [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

APPENDIX

1

ALIANZA FEDERAL DE MERCEDES
(Federal Alliance of Spanish Land Grant Heirs)(AFDM),
also known as
Federal Alliance of Free City States
(Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres)(FAFC)

On October 8, 1963, the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Spanish Land Grant Heirs)(AFDM) was incorporated in New Mexico. Its purpose was to acquaint heirs of all Spanish Land Grants with their rights under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA was the president, with business and residence address at 1010 Third Street, N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico. The name of the organization was changed on August 19, 1967, to Federal Alliance of Free City States (Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres) (FAFC).

On October 26, 1966, TIJERINA and four other members of AFDM were charged in Federal Court with Assaulting a Federal Officer and conversion of Government property, as a result of their land claims, and on November 11, 1967, all were found guilty.

On June 5, 1967, REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA and 19 others were charged in State Court with kidnaping and assault with intent to commit felonies, resulting from entering the Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, Courthouse with firearms and forcibly holding hostages and shooting law enforcement officers. Charges against all but eleven were subsequently dismissed and the eleven are awaiting trial.

A source has advised that PAT BLAU BLAWIS, Santa Fe, New Mexico, has been advising REIES TIJERINA and claims him as her protege.

On June 28, 1966, a second source advised that PAT BLAU BLAWIS had been elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, at the 18th National Convention in New York City, June 22-26, 1966.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

April 4, 1969

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

FBI

Date: 4/9/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Mc Grath
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

FUG. ZUP.

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 4/8/69.

The Washington Field Office has advised that investigation in connection with telephone numbers in Washington, D. C., previously called from the telephone at subject's former residence, 2777 Pine St., San Francisco, reveals that none of these persons acknowledge any information of subject's whereabouts and some acknowledge acquaintance

b6
b7C

[redacted]

The New York Office has conducted investigation regarding phone calls made from the same residence to numbers in New York City. No information of value relating to the subject's whereabouts has been developed in connection therewith.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(4)

REC 54 100-447251-507

4 APR 11 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date 4/7/69

Transmit the following in TAM/DG/EHL (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

FUG. SUP.

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remylet to Bureau 4/4/69 and myairtel 4/3/69.

b6
b7C

The following correction should be made to the letterhead memorandum submitted as an enclosure to referenced letter: Page 2, next to the last paragraph, line 8, should read [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

REC 25 100-447251-508

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)

15 APR 11 1969

RCD:ab
(4)

60 APR 18 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

WA 13

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

426 PM

STAN/DG/EHL

URGENT 4-9-69 EAD

VIA TELETYPE

APR 9 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON CODE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM-BPP; UFAP-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO:SF

ON APRIL EIGHT LAST, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS BEEN HAD TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY, ADVISED THAT A NEGRO FEMALE, [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

509

1 1969

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO

XEROX

APR 18 1969

APR 1969

THIS INFORMATION BEING FURNISHED SAN FRANCISCO FOR POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE IN THE LOCATION OF SUBJECT. SAN FRANCISCO ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF SUCH A FEMALE IS KNOWN IN ORDER THAT NEW YORK CAN EVALUATE INFORMATION BEING FURNISHED BY SOURCE.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [redacted] [redacted], WHO HAS FURNISHED INFORMATION RE SUBJECT IN THE PAST. SOURCE ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP FURTHER DATA RE FEMALE DESCRIBED HEREIN AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION RE SUBJECT. P.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

END

RMC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc-Mr. Sullivan

WA 13

426 PM

URGENT 4-9-69 EAD

VIA TELETYPE

APR 9 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON CODE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, IOTA-FOUR-TWO-THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM-BPP; UFAP-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO:SF

b6
b7C

ON APRIL EIGHT LAST, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS BEEN HAD TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY, ADVISED THAT A NEGRO FEMALE,

b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

SF

100-447251-509

THIS INFORMATION BEING FURNISHED SAN FRANCISCO FOR POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE IN THE LOCATION OF SUBJECT. SAN FRANCISCO ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF SUCH A FEMALE IS KNOWN IN ORDER THAT NEW YORK CAN EVALUATE INFORMATION BEING FURNISHED BY SOURCE.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [redacted] WHO HAS FURNISHED INFORMATION RE SUBJECT IN THE PAST. SOURCE ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP FURTHER DATA RE FEMALE DESCRIBED HEREIN AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION RE SUBJECT. P.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

END

RMC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

Orig - Mr. Lair

Form DJ-150
(Ed. 11-26-65)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

TO : Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: March 27, 1969

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

JWY:DW:ams
146-1-11[illegible]

SUBJECT: Referral of Correspondence

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter dated January 25, 1968 (DECEMBER), from [redacted] of [redacted] has not been informed of this referral.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

ENCLOSURE

REC- 106

100-447254-510

1 APR 3 1969

~~CORRESPONDENCE~~
PERS. REC. UNIT

51 APR 22 1969

APR 3 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

12/25/68

Dear Pres. Elect Nixon:

Why is it that the F. B. I. can be so efficient in some cases -- Mackle kidnapping, bank robberies, etc. -- and then temper justice with fear of political repercussions? Like letting this criminal dog run free, whether in this country or abroad spreading his poison? Its not believable that the FBI did not anticipate & could not have averted his flight to escape imprisonment.

Where is the law and order? and justice?

Sincerely & respectfully yours,

b6
b7C

COPY:nm

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DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EH

indicato

REPRESSION OF

California | Cleaver gets one lecture

The UC Regents Friday voted to permit Eldridge Cleaver -- or any other guest speaker-- one appearance a quarter in course given for credit.

By a 10 to 8 margin the Regents changed a rule which formerly allowed faculty members to invite guest speakers to appear an unlimited number of times.

Cleaver had been scheduled to give ten lectures on a experimental course, "Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order", which was initiated by students at the Center for Education Changes. There were to be speakers in opposition to Cleaver's view. The money to pay for Cleaver's appearance was to be paid by the students.

Reagan, who said he was speaking for the people of California, warned that permitting Cleaver to appear might cause a legislative investigation of the university from "top to bottom."

He warned of dissatisfaction leading to possible increased legislative control of UC.

cont. to p. 7

100-447251-510

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
~~TAM/DG/EHL~~

vol. III | no. 1 / la jolla, california / september 25, 1968

Force is the midwife of every
old society pregnant with a new one

TWO FRONTS

Guatemala | Bonpane speaks tonight

Tonight at 8:30 Father Blase Bonpane, recently expelled from Guatemala for "plotting an armed revolution," will speak in the gymnasium on the subject of United States foreign policy in Latin America. Father Bonpane is the first of a series of speakers now being planned by the Lectures Committee of the ASUCSD. He has written feature articles for many of the nation's leading newspapers, including the L.A. Times, and has spoken on campuses across the country. He has been appointed full time lecturer in the Latin American Studies Department of Cal State Los Angeles beginning in January. Tomorrow he is to speak at UC Irvine.

As a priest of the Maryknoll missionary order, he and two other priests and a nun worked at the National University of Guatemala operating a "center of awareness" on the social problems of the Guatemalan people. (The two other priests and the nun later joined the guerilla movement). As director of the Cursillos de Capacitacion Social, Father Bonpane and his fellow clerics conducted workshops in which the university students studied the various political systems, the papal encyclicals of social importance, sociological data, and considered possible solutions to the problems of the Guatemala social organization. After a week of study, in the abstract, the students went into the fields to bring the conclusions of their discussions into confrontation with the realities of the lives of the

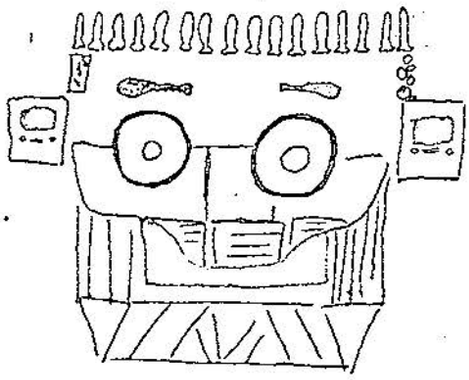
100-44725

If we wanted to play mischievous smarties we could suggest make the longest single appearance in Academic history or give ten lectures, each in a different course, or share his ten lectures with nine other Panthers. But this time the resurrection of Joe McCarthy is not a mythical event. It is quite real when Raff[illegible] the Union and their cohorts -- unthinking, uncreative and obstinate like mules--assume, in addition the role of vic[illegible] and belligerent witch-hunters. Therefore, should our counterparts at Berke[illegible] decide to disregard the "one appearance per quarter" ruling, reject the ridiculous censure motion and continue with the proposed Cleaver lectures, we at UCSD must openly and unequivocally support such a move. We cannot, in good conscience, do any less. In fact, the matter of Eldridge Cleaver has shown us that we have to do much more if we care to save our University.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY [illegible]
TAM/DG/EHL

It's Not That Complex

Chancellor McGill expresses in his interview with the Indicator the usual outmoded liberal solutions to the problems of the university and the country. According to this picture, the university is (or at least should be) a 'bastion' of knowledge, freedom and calmness amid the violence and irrationality of the community; students are intellectually brilliant but emotionally immature and must be guided by the elders of the academic community in directions chosen for them; the United States, like the university, is an island of technical and legal progress and a beacon of freedom which can guide the rest of the world while solving its few remaining problems. And it must not be forgotten, he says, that all of the problems that we face are extremely complex and cannot be dealt with by the uneducated, the uninformed, the young.



The university student should reflect the community that supports him.

Only an insider or an intellectual can maintain the delicate balance of affairs and solve these problems. They are all too complex and must not be subjected to simplistic analysis.

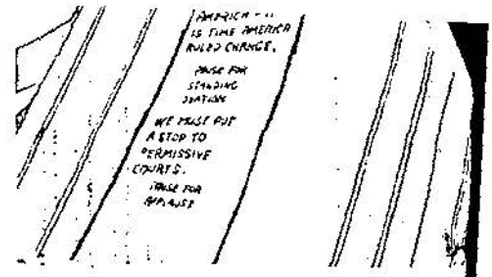
However the problems of the United States and of the university are not so complex that they cannot be understood. There is unity in diversity and a whole can be seen. One can understand the university and monopoly capitalism without knowing the fine points and complexities of accounting. And when the whole is seen it is clear that the paternalism and reformism of corporate liberalism will not solve the problems involved.

The United States and Western Europe, the "technological societies," have not been able to solve their own problems as Dr. McGill implies, let alone solve those of the rest of the world. A country in which 10 million people go hungry has not solved "the problem of hunger." Despite twenty years of 'prosperity', one third of the men of military age in the United States do not meet minimum health and education standards; 40% of the population lives below the low minimum subsistence standard set by the federal government. The United States has not achieved full employment since 1953 and would probably have 20-24 million (out of a work force of 78 million) unemployed if it were not for the military effort.

These effects are not temporary or the result of too much or too little technology but reflect defects in the structure of the system itself. The economic structure of the United States is self-contradictory -- generating a surplus when insufficient consumption or investment outlets exist, using advertising to create a demand for unnecessary items and delaying the elimination of poverty until it is profitable. The United States has only been able to resolve temporarily these contradictions by creating a militarisitic society which bolsters a stagnating economy while protecting imperialist investments abroad and at the same time stifling the outrage of blacks and other dissenters at home. The United States, in spite of and because of its continually rising surplus cannot really solve its problems without destroying corporate capitalism.

As Dr. McGill notes, the United States is not a peaceful country, but it is not as he states, the assassinations and riots of recent years that are the expression of its violence. They are only reactions to the real daily violence of the corporate liberal system. The real violence is in the political-economic need to dominate Vietnam and Guatemala, to starve black men in the ghettoes and to create impotent neurotic business executives. Violence lies in the discrepancy between the technological potential to eliminate hunger and useless drugery and the realities of poverty, ignorance and alienation. Violence lies in the irrationality of the system as a whole.

The university, like the United States, is not a pure, value-free institution Chancellor McGill portrays. It is not the center



of intellectual pursuit. of the "abstract" search for knowledge Clark Kerr dismissed that myth several years ago (The Uses of the University). It is not the pure scientist in search of knowledge or the obscure philologist but the practical scientist doing corporate and military research who is protected by the university today. The university is not the 'bastion' of rationality or calmness but is a key element in the military - industrial complex - the "producer of operators." It furnishes research and ideas and psychological conditions its graduates to accept their spots in the corporate hierarchy.

Nor can the university strive to be a island of calm from which wise men can 'guide' society to the goals of the future. The problems and crisis that face the world are more urgent and fundamental than his picture of complexity indicates. He is right in fearing a student take-over of the university just as capitalism is right to fear the victory of the Vietnamese people. The structures will not be preserved; the irrelevancies and the barriers to progress will be removed. Progress does not mean a 'benign technology' that watches over men in a society where technology is used to

correspon

Dear Brothers, Liberals, and other

All MONETARY GRANTS, offer administrative documents, title to supplies, used offset presses, doo wave radio frequency-ranging devic will be welcomed.

Send to: Indicator
P.O. Box 2106
La Jolla, California
92038

indicator

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100-401723-1-570

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 UC
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DEC 28 1968

1 - other 12/25/68

Dear Pres-Elect Nixon:

Why is it that the F.B.I. can be so efficient in some cases - Markle kidnapping, bank robberies, etc. - and then temper justice with fear of political repercussions? Like letting this criminal dog run free, whether in this country or abroad spreading his ~~poisonous~~ poison? Its not believable that the FBI did not anticipate & could not have averted his flight to escape imprisonment.

Where is the law and order? and justice?

Sincerely & respectfully yours.

RECEIVED
INTERNAL SECURITY

b6
b7C

100

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

FBI

Date: 4/10/69

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT/EHL
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Re New Haven teletype 4/2/69; New York teletype to Bureau 4/9/69; and myairtel 4/9/69.

New York source has advised that a Negro female [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Following are the listings for telephone numbers found in a [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

100-447251-511

REC 29

2 - Bureau
1 - New Haven (INFO)(157-975)
1 - New York (INFO) (100-161321)
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(6)

EX-104

APR 14 1969

53 APR 22 1969

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

SF 88-12329
RCD:ab

[redacted] San Francisco. San Francisco indices negative regarding this individual. It is noted that 346-4013 and 4014 are the numbers for the residence of the subject's wife, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, and the subject's former residence at 2777 Pine St., San Francisco. b6 b7C b7D

435-2062 is the number for the radio telephone in the 1968 Plymouth sedan registered to subject and his wife and currently in the possession of subject's wife at San Francisco.

b6 b7C [redacted] is listed to [redacted] City Directory reflects that [redacted] San Francisco indices negative re these individuals. b6 b7C b7D

b7D [redacted] furnished to Bureau by referenced San Francisco airtel for forwarding to Legat, Ottawa.

A & D

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12-24-2006 BY 60309 AIM TAM/DG/EHL

Date 4/8/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 4/7/69.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

REC-64

12 APR 15 1969

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (1 - 100-55520)
RCD:ab
(4)

FUG./SUP.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

53 APR 21 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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4/9/69

RADIOGRAM

URGENT

VIA TELETYPE
Kem 7:26PM
APR 9 1969
ENCIPHERED

TO SACS SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)
LOS ANGELES (88-15756)
NEW YORK (100-161321)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

REC-10

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C
b7D

Tolson
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Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

JRF:egm
(3)

NOTE: OKay to hold for next regular daytime contact gpt.

51 APR 22 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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DATE 03-12-2010 BY [illegible]
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VIA TELETYPE
APR 8 1969
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Mr. Bishop
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Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

OTT 1 739PMJL

URGENT 4-8-69

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-46) 3P

REC-10

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUG., IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE;WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM-BPP;UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO SF.

REMYTEL FOUR EIGHT LAST. (70)

b6
b7C
b7D

TELETYPED TO: Rad to SF, LA, NY 4-9-69 IRF:egm

FTB 1 ~~XEROX~~

APR 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

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DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
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FBI

Date: 4/11/69

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(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

REC 44

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Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)
NEW ORLEANS

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE. IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE W F FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO: SF.

[redacted] ADVISED ON [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

1 - BUREAU (AM)
1 - SAN FRANCISCO
RCD:lmk
(2)

REC 44

100-447251-514

3 APR 16 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

APR 22 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2010 BY 60309 AMS
TAM/DG/EHL

VIA TELETYPE
APR 11 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA ----14----

FBI NEW YORK

4:35 PM URGENT 4-11-69 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SF.

RE BUREAU TEL TO NY DATED FOUR NINE, SIXTYNINE.

b6
b7C

1969

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

WA...NSM

FBI ASH DC

R RELAY

TELETYPED TO:

53 APR 21 1969

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

FBI

Date: 4/9/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

FUG. SUP.

Remyairtel 4/7/69.

Enclosed are 2 copies each of 3 photographs of the

b6
b7C
b7D

6 ENCLOSURE
2 - Bureau (Encls. 6)
2 - San Francisco
RCD:ab
(4)

REC-131 100-447251-576

3 APR 16 1969

b6
b7C

APR 21 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

~~APR 10 1969~~

SECRET

DATE: 07-19-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
07-19-2031

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

4/10/69

CODE

RADIOGRAM URGENT

100-447251-519

VIA TELETYPE
APR 10 1969
7 55 PM
ENCIPHERED

REC 26

TO SAC SAN FRANCISCO

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C
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[redacted] ADVISES [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] DEFINITELY NOT IDENTICAL TO CLEAVER.

b1

[redacted] (S)

1 - ~~LEGAT, MEXICO CITY (AIRMAIL)~~
1 - ~~BUFFALO (AIRMAIL)~~

APR 22 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☑

SECRET

RADIOGRAM TO SAN FRANCISCO
RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[redacted] b1

[redacted] (S)

AIRMAIL COPIES TO BUFFALO AND LEGAT, MEXICO CITY.

SECRET

DATE: 07-19-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
07-19-2031

VIA TELETYPE
APR 9 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TT 01 4-35 PM JHC

URGENT 4-9-69

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-46) 2P

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUG., IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO MURDER, OO - SF.

REBUTEL THREE TWO SIX LAST AND MYTEL THREE TWO NINE LAST. [redacted] NOW ADVISE [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

MEXICO [redacted]

DEFINITELY NOT IDENTICAL TO CLEAVER.

[redacted] b1 (S)

TELETYPED TO: 1 XEROX
FTB APR 1969

Rad to St, cc Mexcity
4-10-69 BUFFALO
TRF: egm

SECRET

b6 b7C

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

4/24/69

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: LEGAT, MEXICO CITY

b6
b7C

[redacted]

DATE: 02-24-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
02-24-2031

SM - C; RM
BUfile 100-433795
MEXfile 100-2020 (RUC)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM
BUfile 100-16570
MEXfile 100-3046 (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239, W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
BUfile 100-447251
MEXfile 100-3184 (P)

ENCLOSURES

Enclosed for the Bureau are 24 copies of an LHM dated as above and captioned [redacted] Three copies of the LHM are designated for Los Angeles, four for San Francisco, and one for San Diego.

b6
b7C

REFERENCE

Mexico City airtel 3/14/69.

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED
183 MAY 12 1969

16 - Bureau (Enc. 24)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(3 - Los Angeles)
(4 - San Francisco)
(1 - 88-12329)(ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1 - San Diego)(INFO)
3 - Mexico City (1 - 100-2020)
(1 - 100-3046)
(1 - 100-3184)

HR:kzh
(19)

ENCLOSURE

54 MAY

SECRET

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-433795-15

MEX 100-2020
MEX 100-3046
MEX 100-3184

SOURCES

b2
b7D

[redacted] is [redacted]

[redacted] is [redacted] (S)

b1

CLASSIFICATION

The enclosed LHM is classified CONFIDENTIAL to protect the identities of the sources utilized therein.

COPIES

A copy of the enclosure is being disseminated locally

b2

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/LSP/EHL
ON 02-24-2006

April 24, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] b6 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

100-447251

ENCLOSURE

ENCL

b6
b7C
b7D

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

A characterization of the BPP is attached in the Appendix.

Since CLEAVER's parole in December, 1966 from prison he has been arrested twice, once in 1967 when he became involved in the Black Power disturbances at the California State Capitol and in 1968 when he led a group of Black Panthers with the intention of killing an Oakland, California policeman. He was arrested, his parole was revoked and he was returned to prison. However he managed to secure a release prior to a California Supreme Court ruling for CLEAVER to return to prison on November 27, 1968. CLEAVER did not surrender and is presently a fugitive.

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

FBI

Date: 4/10/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI ~~(100-477251)~~
100-447251

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-975) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE
IO 4239; EF 447
RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER.

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

4 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (1-Legat, Ottawa, Enc. 7)
1 - Anchorage
1 - Atlanta
1 - Baltimore
1 - Birmingham
1 - Boston
1 - Butte
1 - Chicago
1 - Charlotte
1 - Cincinnati
1 - Cleveland
1 - Columbia
1 - Dallas
1 - Denver
1 - Detroit
1 - El Paso
1 - Indianapolis
1 - Jackson
1 - Kansas City
1 - Knoxville
1 - Little Rock
1 - Los Angeles
1 - Louisville
1 - Milwaukee
2 - New Haven
TFM/clf
(47)

2 cc 97 enc - Cy C.II
4-15-69 JRF cd
C-7
1 cc 7 enc - T's

REC 44

100-447251-518

3 APR 11 1969

12 ENCLOSURE

(See page two for copies)

REGISTERED MAIL

SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

~~51 APR 21 1969~~

55 MAY 21 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

COPIES (Continued)

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1 - Pittsburgh
1 - Portland
1 - Richmond
1 - San Antonio
1 - San Diego
1 - San Francisco
1 - Seattle
1 - Springfield
1 - St. Louis
1 - WFO

REFERENCES: New Haven teletype to Bureau, 4/2/69
San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 4/2/69, captioned "KATHLEEN CLEAVER."

Enclosed are 12 copies of an LHM which sets forth leads for Legat, Ottawa. The LHM is self-explanatory.

As reported in referenced teletype [redacted] Bridgeport, Connecticut, Police Department, advised on April 2, 1968, that [redacted] concerning BPP leaders throughout the United States was found in a [redacted] Bridgeport, Connecticut, which address is the [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

LEADS

ALL RECEIVING OFFICES

All offices are requested to identify the [redacted]
b7D [redacted] and attempt to determine the relationship to the subject

NEW HAVEN

At Bridgeport, Conn.

Will continue to attempt to determine a relationship between the subject and the Lafayette Consistory, as well as [redacted]
b6
b7C

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New Haven, Connecticut

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

April 10, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/DG/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
IO 4239; EF 447

On April 2, 1969, [redacted] Bridgeport, Connecticut, Police Department, advised that a [redacted] regarding BPP leaders was found in a [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

"ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: [redacted] CLEAVER is the Minister of Information of the BPP, Oakland, California. He failed to appear on November 27, 1968, in response to an order of California state authorities revoking his parole and his present whereabouts are unknown. He is out of $5,000 bail for appearance December 23, 1968, to answer an assault with a deadly weapon charge resulting from a shoot-out with Oakland, California, Police in April, 1968.

On December 10, 1968, an unlawful flight to avoid confinement warrant was issued at San Francisco, California, in connection with assault with intent to commit murder.

COPIES DESTROYED
343 MAY 4 1971

ENCLOSURE
100-447251-518

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
IO 4239; EF 447

[redacted] furnished the following from [redacted]: b6 b7C b7D

[redacted]

REQUEST OF LEGAT, OTTAWA

Enclosed for Legat, Ottawa are seven copies of CLEAVER's Identification Order, and two copies of his flyer, setting forth his description.

It is requested that [redacted] be identified and an attempt be made to determine their relationship with the subject, looking toward possible apprehension of the subject. b7D

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

A P P E N D I X

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP), was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, the HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of two to fifteen years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," stated that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere!

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

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DATE: 02-24-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3/60
02-24-2031

Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

CODE

4/16/69

CABLEGRAM URGENT

TO LEGAT OTTAWA

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE; WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN; RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

C.A. #71CD1994

b6
b7C
b7D

RE LEGAT'S CABLES APRIL EIGHT AND NINE, LAST, CONCERNING

[redacted]

b1

b6
b7C
b7D

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

JRF:egm
(4)

CONFIDENTIAL

100-447251-19

19 APR 17 1969

TELETYPE
355 P
APR 16 1969
ENCIPHERED

63 APR 22 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

979602

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC 4
TAM/DG/EHL

FBI

Date: 4/11/69

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

FUG. SUP.

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
I.O. 4239
WF 447
RM-BPP;
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SF

DAILY SUMMARY

Remytel, 4/10/69; Bureau teletype, 4/9/69; San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 4/11/69.

Enclosed for the New Orleans Division for use in the coverage of the lead set forth in referenced tel is one copy of a photograph of [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

REC-89 100-447251-520

3 - Bureau
2 - Albuquerque (157-194)
1 - New Orleans (Info.) (Encl. 1)
2 - San Francisco
1 - 100-55520
RCD/bja
(8)

APR 18 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

56 APR 22 1969

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1214327-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 100
Page 3 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 4 ~ b1;
Page 5 ~ b1;
Page 6 ~ b1;
Page 7 ~ b1;
Page 8 ~ b1;
Page 9 ~ b1;
Page 10 ~ b1;
Page 11 ~ b1;
Page 21 ~ b1;
Page 22 ~ b1;
Page 23 ~ b1;
Page 24 ~ b1;
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Page 41 ~ b1;
Page 42 ~ b1;
Page 43 ~ b1;
Page 44 ~ b1;
Page 45 ~ b1;
Page 46 ~ b1;
Page 47 ~ b1;
Page 48 ~ b1;
Page 53 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 60 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 61 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 62 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 65 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 66 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 73 ~ b1;
Page 74 ~ b1;
Page 75 ~ b1;
Page 76 ~ b1;
Page 77 ~ b1;

Page 78 ~ b1;
Page 175 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 181 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 182 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 183 ~ b1;
Page 185 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 187 ~ b1;
Page 188 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 189 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 190 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 191 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 216 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 217 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 218 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 219 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 222 ~ b1;
Page 223 ~ b1;
Page 224 ~ b1;
Page 225 ~ b1;
Page 228 ~ b1;
Page 229 ~ b1;
Page 230 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 231 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 232 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 233 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 234 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 242 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 244 ~ b1;
Page 245 ~ b1;
Page 246 ~ b1;
Page 247 ~ b1;
Page 248 ~ b1;
Page 249 ~ b1;
Page 250 ~ b1;
Page 251 ~ b1;
Page 252 ~ b1;
Page 253 ~ b1;
Page 255 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 258 ~ b1;
Page 262 ~ b1;
Page 263 ~ b1;
Page 264 ~ b1;
Page 265 ~ b1;
Page 266 ~ b1;
Page 267 ~ b1;
Page 281 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 282 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 283 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 292 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 293 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 294 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 296 ~ b1;

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X For this Page X
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SECRET

b1

6/18/69

airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-25-2031

To: SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)

REC 29

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239
W.F. #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

(S)

Enclosed herewith is a copy of an [redacted] (S)

San Francisco is instructed to not include such information in any report or make any dissemination.

MAILED 9
JUN 18 1969
COMM-FBI

Enc.

SECRET

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

JRF:egm
(4)

51 JUL 22 1969

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 6/26/69
DATE 11-20-2006 BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (157-11844) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WF #447
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
COMMIT MURDER

00 SF

[redacted] b2 b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] he entered into a conversation with [redacted] remarked that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is residing in a suburb of Havana, Cuba. [redacted] mentioned the name of the town which consisted of two Spanish names, however, the source could not recall these names. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] stated there are currently 40 BPP members presently living in Cuba, in the same area as CLEAVER and that CLEAVER meets regularly with these BPP members conducting "Political Education" classes. [redacted] stated that in addition, CLEAVER is writing a book re his BPP activity.

2 - Bureau (100-447251)
3 - San Francisco
(2 - 88-12329)
(1 - 100- BPP)
3 - New York
(2 - 88-[illegible] ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1 - 100- [redacted])
3 - New Orleans
(2 - 157-11844)
(1 - [redacted])
SMC-kat
(11)

EX-115

REC-52 100-447251-664

b2 b6 b7C b7D

FUG. SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M _____
Special Agent in Charge

59 JUL 14 1969

b6 b7C

b6
b7C

NO 157-11844 - kat

[redacted] did not indicate the source of this information nor did he make any further comment regarding CLEAVER.

Any additional information received will be furnished.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

FD-205 (Rev. 1-10-63)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-17-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 6/27/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SF

SOG ACTION:
(Records Branch)

☑ Post and destroy
☐ File

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: Annual report due 6/28/69.

Reason for the delinquency: Office under inspection

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: 7/31/69

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:
(This applies only to 116 cases.)

XX No administrative action necessary.

b6
b7C

1 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco
FL/jmp (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2006 BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
DATE: June 30, 1969
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

To recommend that the attached letters be furnished to Dr. Kissinger at the White House and the Attorney General. Information being furnished concerns the travels of [redacted] the Republic of New Africa (RNA) for the Southern Region. The RNA is a black extremist, separatist organization in the United States (U.S.).

[redacted] traveled to Cuba where she met and conversed with Premier Fidel Castro. Castro expressed his support for the RNA and the struggle of black people within the U.S. He claimed to have many sources in the U.S. who furnish him up-to-date information and advised that he also relies on the U.S. news media.

Castro stated that hijackers arriving in Cuba are put to work in the fields or in some other useful capacity.

Castro said the U.S. has several weak points which should be known to the black man and he described Florida as an example because much nuclear power is centered there. He did not elaborate on this point.

Castro said he is primarily concerned with keeping the U.S. and Russia at odds with each other and indicated that the black people in the U.S. will receive assistance from Cuba after they move forward in their revolution.

[redacted] attempted to see Eldridge Cleaver, a leader, of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at a contact point in Havana, Cuba, but she was unsuccessful.

The information concerning [redacted] travels is being furnished to the following at Seat of Government: Internal Security Division, Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department, Army, Secret Service, Air Force, [redacted] and the State Department.

b6
b7C
b2

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be sent to Dr. Kissinger at the White House and to the Attorney General with a copy for the Deputy Attorney General.

Enclosures

1 - 105-166931 [redacted]
1 - 157-9079 (RNA)

GES:crk

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-9079
100-447251
NOT RECORDED
183 JUL 7 1969
5 JUL 3 1969
30 JUL 10 1969

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

CONFIDENTIAL

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

(RI) 157-9079 July 1, 1969

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 11-20-2006

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

[redacted] the Republic of New Africa (RNA) for the Southern Region, recently made a trip to Cuba. The RNA is a black extremist, separatist organization in the United States. The following information concerning [redacted] travels was provided by sources of this Bureau.

On May 10, 1969, it was determined that [redacted] departed New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 8, 1969, for a trip to South America under the sponsorship of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and as an ambassador of the RNA.

It was learned that [redacted] returned to New Orleans, Louisiana, on June 7, 1969, from New York City. The following information concerning her travels was obtained.

In Mexico City, a man, on behalf of the RNA, arranged for [redacted] flight to Cuba which was paid for by the Cuban Government. She was accompanied by two other United States citizens who were traveling under the auspices of UNICEF.

While in Cuba, [redacted] was taken on a tour of schools and she and her companions attended a rally which was addressed by Fidel Castro. During his speech, Castro announced to the audience that there were several Americans

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

100-447257

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

b6
b7C

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

present. After the speech, [redacted] and her companions had a meal with Castro. During the meal, Castro indicated his respect for Malcolm X, a deceased black nationalist leader, and stated he was unhappy with the dissension among black militant organizations in Los Angeles, California. Castro claimed to have many sources in the United States who furnish him up-to-date information and he advised that he follows happenings in the United States through the United States news media.

Regarding hijackers, Castro stated that they are normally put to work in Cuba either in the fields or in some other capacity where they can be useful.

Castro advocated the building of the Cuban population through out-of-wedlock relations such as those advocated by Hitler in Germany.

Castro said that the United States has several weak points which should be known, particularly to the black man. One of these, he stated, was Florida in that the United States has concentrated much of its nuclear power there. He did not elaborate on this point.

Castro stated that Cuba currently has adopted a defensive posture and does not plan to take any aggressive action against its neighboring countries. He claimed that he keeps the United States and Russia at odds as much as possible to insure protection for Cuba by Russia should the United States attempt to invade Cuba.

Castro did not offer any financial support to the RNA because of the poor condition of the Cuban economy. He stated that he is primarily concerned with keeping the United States and Russia from taking over Cuba. Castro

advised that when the black people in the United States move forward in their revolution they will receive assistance from Cuba and other countries just as he had received assistance when he was fighting the Batista regime. Castro stated that the world is waiting for the black man in the United States to set the example.

[redacted] and her companions were furnished educational literature by Castro which he stated concerned the revolution and which would be applicable to the black man's struggle in the United States. Castro took [redacted] address in the United States and stated he would send her revolutionary literature in the near future which would be of assistance. (The literature furnished by Castro was smuggled by [redacted] on her person into the United States upon her return.)

While in Cuba, [redacted] met a Negro male from Georgia who is producing theatrical productions in Cuba with Castro's permission. One of the plays is "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" and another is entitled "The White Tramp."

Prior to going to Cuba, [redacted] was instructed by [redacted] to attempt to contact Eldridge Cleaver, a leader of the Black Panther Party. [redacted] had informed [redacted] that she could contact Cleaver through a bookstore in Havana, Cuba. [redacted] went to the bookstore and asked to see Cleaver and was told by a man working there that she could not see him but she could communicate with him by letter to which he would reply. [redacted] left a letter for Cleaver but she did not receive a reply prior to her departure from Cuba.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 2 1969
ENCIPHERED

WASHINGTON --1--

9:59 PM URGENT 7-1-69 KCK

TO DIRECTOR --CODE--

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-1232)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-17-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAP-ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER, ETC.; BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM.

00-SF

SOURCE ADVISED THAT AS OF EIGHT PM JULY ONE, INSTANT [redacted] CLAIMS TO HAVE IN HIS POSSESSION A TAPE RECENTLY MADE BY SUBJECT INDICATING HE AND [redacted] N [redacted] ARE TOGETHER AND CONTAINING STATEMENTS BY SUBJECT ABOUT CUBA.

b6
b7C

PRESS REPORTEDLY ARE LISTENING TO TAPE AT BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND MAKING NOTES FOR JULY TWO NEWSPAPERS. TV AND RADIO REPORTERS ARE CLAMOURING FOR COPIES OF EITHER PORTIONS OR ENTIRE TAPE BUT SEALE REPORTEDLY RELUCTANT TO RELEASE EITHER A COPY OR THE ORIGINAL.

IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT SUMMARY OR PERHAPS ENTIRE TRANSCRIPT OF TAPE MAY APPEAR IN JULY TWO NEWSPAPERS.

SOURCE ADVISED NO INDICATION AS YET AS TO LOCATION OF SUBJECT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [redacted]

b2

SF WILL FOLLOW CLOSELY AND KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.

100-447351-65

105-165706

END

53 JUL 18 1969

TELETYPED TO: FTB

XEROX JUL 14 1969

REC 36

5 JUL 10 1969

UNREC COPY FILED IN

RM FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 11-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EGL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-20-2031

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: July 16, 1969

FROM : LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-46)(C)

b7D

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO 4239;WF 447
RM-BPP;UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

b1

[redacted] (S)

b6
b7C

In connection with [redacted] the following information is being set forth:

b7D

[redacted] is the subject of Bufile 100-451802;SF File 100-61282 - SF OO.

b6
b7C

[redacted] is the subject of Bufile 157-9344. [redacted]

CANADA

[redacted] is [redacted] and has been prominently mentioned in the Cleaver case.

b1

[redacted] (S)

ENCLOSURE

6 - Bureau (Encs. 1)
1 Liaison Direct
2 San Francisco
1 - Ottawa

RTN:jl
(7)

REC-32 100-447251-666

SI-113

5 JUL 22 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SECRET

AUG 19 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

FBI TELETYPE

JUL 24 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

WA-13

201PM URGENT 7-24-69 PAC

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, 105-89231 AND

SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329, 100-56066 PLAIN

SUPVR. 1511

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321, 105-42122 3P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AKA FUGITIVE; WF FOUR FOUR

SEVEN UFAC DASH ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

ETC. OO;SAN FRANCISCO.

STEWARD EDWARD ALBERT; SECURITY MATTER DASH ANA

(KEY ACTIVIST) OO;SAN FRANC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

RESFTEL JULY TWENTY THREE LAST.

INVESTIGATION AT NEW YORK OF JERRY RUBIN, FIVE ST.

MARKS PLACE, NYC, THIS DATE, REVEALED THAT [redacted]

[redacted] ADVISED THAT SUBJECT ALBERT CURRENTLY

STAYING IN APARTMENT BUT NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

FROM A REVIEW OF NYO FILES IT APPEARS THAT SOURCE OF

CALIFORNIA BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

END OF PAGE ONE

ST 109

REC 24

100-447251-667

Xerox cc-leg
" " leg Quad
7-24-69 JRF leg

11 JUL 25 1969

TELETYPED TO:

SF 56 AUG 4 1969

JUL 28 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

(CII), COULD BE [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] SAN FRANCISCO ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF CII SOURCE IS IN FACT [redacted] NYCPD HAS CLASSIFIED [redacted] AS UNRELIABLE. SAN FRANCISCO ALSO ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN IDENTITY OF AIRLINES THAT SUBJECT ALBERT TOOK TO NYC FROM SAN FRANCISCO, IN ORDER THAT NYO CAN CHECK FURTHER FOR POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS TO ALGIERS.

AIRLINES TO CANADA AND ALGIERS PRESENTLY BEING CHECKED BY NYO, NEGATIVE TO DATE. NYO WILL PLACE STOP WITH LOCAL INS, NYC, AS ALBERT AND COMPANION [redacted] b6 b7C WOULD HAVE TO CHECK WITH INS OFFICIALS PRIOR TO DEPARTURE US.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

END OF PAGE TWO

b6
b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

STOP BEING PLACED WITH U.S. PASSPORT OFFICE, NYC RE ALBERT.

SAN FRANCISCO HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION REGARDING [redacted] UNDER HIS NAME OR [redacted] LOGICAL NYO SOURCES ALERTED FOR PERTINENT INFORMATION. P.

END

N

FJB FBI WASH DC

CC: MR. SULLIVAN

WASHINGTON 13

VIA TEL

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 03-24-2006

7:45 PM 7-23-69 URGENT

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447261) (105-89231) - AND NEW YORK (105-42122)

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (100-56066) ~~DYZPPATYP66~~ (3-P) CONFIDENTIAL

I.Q. 4239

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC DASH ASSUALT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ETC.

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT, SM DASH ANA (KEY ACTIVIST)

00: SF.

RE SF TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK ENTITLED STEWART EDWARD ALBERT, SM-ANA; [redacted] SM-RU.

b6
b7C

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELE TO NEW YORK THIS DATE ENTITLED BPP, RM; STEWART EDWARD ALBERT, SM-ANA.

CLASSIFIED BY 2040 EFG
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

[redacted] SPECIAL AGENT, CALIFORNIA BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION (CII), SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THIS DATE AS FOLLOWS:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES 9/10/72

A RELIABLE AND TRUSTWORTHY SOURCE, [redacted]

(J)

b6
b7C
b7D

REC-24

[redacted]

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO: XEROX

11 JUL 25 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

JUL 28 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

[redacted]

~~NTIAL~~

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] (J)

ABOVE INFORMATION SHOULD BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY AS ONLY KNOWN TO THREE PEOPLE AND WOULD JEOPARDIZE CII INFORMANT. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT BUREAU MAY WISH TO ADVISE OTTOWA AND PARIS.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW MATTER CLOSELY AND SUTEL ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION DEVELOPED.

BOTH ALBERT AND CLEAVER A AND D.

[redacted] DESCRIBED, WF, BORN [redacted] [redacted] FIVE ONE, ONE ONE ZERO LBS., BLUE, BROWN AND FAIR, SF FILE ONE ZERO ZERO DASH SIX ONE TWO EIGHT TWO.

b6
b7C

END

PG 1 FROM LINE WHAT AFTER SF FILE NR AND BEFORE 3P??? GA

BEFORE SF FILE NUM

RNK R RELAY FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad

VIA TELETYPE

ENCI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

STATE 146

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

URGENT 7-24-69

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT ROME NO. 59

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE. RM - BPP, UFAC.

RE SAN FRANCISCO AIRTEL TO BUREAU JUNE ONE NINE LAST. ASSISTANT LEGAT CALLED FROM ATHENS TO ADVISE HE NOTED ON EMBASSY GUEST BOOK THE NAME "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, CALIFORNIA" WITH DATE JULY TWO THREE. NAME WAS IN SCRIBBLED PRINTING. HOTEL RECORDS IN ATHENS NEGATIVE. APPROPRIATE AGENCIES BEING ALERTED. BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED.

RECEIVED 12:04 PM NSM

EX-114

REC 45

100-447251-669

11 JUL 25 1969

97 JUL 31 1969

CC- MR. SULLIVAN
3RD CC: MR; BRENNAN

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

attach A + sent separately

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

/26/69

CABLEGRAM **URGENT**

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 26 1969
7:40 pm
ENCIPHERED

TO LEGATS PARIS
OTTAWA (157-46)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SF

b6
b7C
b7D

RE BUREAU AIRTEL JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO SOURCE ADVISED

REC 69 100-447251-610

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - San Francisco

SFM/PAM:msm/dbh
(6)

EX-115

19 JUL 28 1969

54 AUG 1 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☑

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT PARIS
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]. ABOVE INFORMATION TREAT CONFIDENTIALLY AS THIS WOULD JEOPARDIZE SOURCE.

NEW YORK OFFICE ADVISED JULY TWENTYFIVE, LAST, PASSPORT OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NEW YORK, INDICATES ALBERT ON JULY TWENTYFIVE SIXTYNINE APPLIED FOR PASSPORT TO TRAVEL TO FRANCE. PURPOSE OF TRAVEL LISTED TO VISIT FRIEND. INTENDS TO DEPART JULY TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT, BY AIR WITH DURATION OF TRIP THREE DAYS. ALBERT'S PASSPORT READY THREE PM JULY TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT. NEW YORK OFFICE ATTEMPTING TO VERIFY DEPARTURE OF ALBERT AND ASCERTAIN TRAVEL PLANS. WHEN AVAILABLE LEGATS PARIS AND OTTAWA WILL BE ADVISED.

COPY MAILED SAN FRANCISCO.

BOTH ALBERT AND CLEAVER CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : J. H. Gale

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, also known as
FUGITIVE
WANTED FLYER #447
IDENTIFICATION ORDER #4239
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

00-SF
A+D

[redacted] b6 b7C

In connection with the Director's inquiry as to whether we have an extradition treaty with Algeria, the Departmental attorney handling extradition matters has researched this matter and determined that no treaty is in existence with Algeria concerning extradition.

All of our Legal Attaches have been alerted concerning Cleaver, and in addition, appropriate informants and sources are being carefully followed in an effort to trace his travels, it being noted he was in Cuba before traveling to Algeria.

[redacted] b6 b7C

ACTION:

All Bureau field offices and Legal Attaches have been instructed to be alert for any information indicating Cleaver, an Identification Order fugitive, may return to this country.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

REC-28

44725 1 671

CWH:djg
(8)

17 JUL 30 1969

51 AUG 1 1969

3-20 (Rev. 7-27-67)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

UPI -65
(CLEAVER)

PARIS --BLACK PANTHER LEADER ELDRIGE CLEAVER SAID TODAY AMERICA'S MOON LANDING WAS A WASTE OF MONEY AND SUGGESTED NEXT TIME "THEY TAKE J. EDGAR HOOVER AND RICHARD NIXON" ON A TRIP TO MARS.

SPEAKING IN A TELEPHONE INTERVIEW FROM ALGIERS, CLEAVER SAID THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WAS PUTTING MEN ON THE MOON TO TAKE AMERICANS' MINDS OFF THEIR PROBLEMS ON EARTH."

"THERE'S NO GREAT RUSH FOR MAN TO GO TO THE MOON. THEY COULD GO NEXT WEEK, OR NEXT YEAR, OR IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS," CLEAVER SAID.

"ALL THAT EFFORT, ALL THAT TECHNOLOGY, ALL THAT MONEY COULD GO TO BE USED TO SOLVE PROBLEMS WE HAVE DOWN HERE."

"I WOULD SUGGEST THE NEXT TIME THEY HAVE A SPACE SPECTACULAR--LIKE TO MARS--THEY TAKE J. EDGAR HOOVER AND RICHARD NIXON--AND USE THEM AS ASTRONAUTS."

CLEAVER, THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION IN THE BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT WHO DISAPPEARED FROM THE UNITED STATES EIGHT MONTHS AGO AFTER HE WAS CHARGED WITH ATTEMPTED MURDER IN A CASE INVOLVING LOS ANGELES POLICE, WAS IN ALGIERS FOR THE FIRST FESTIVAL OF PAN AFRICAN CULTURE.

7/19--EV332PED

Memo J.W. Rice to Mr. DeLoach 7/22/69

Do we have an extradition treaty with Algiers?

EX-114

100-111...

REC-28

31 AUG 1 1969

17 JUL 30 1969

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER DATE: 11-21-2006
DATED 04-02-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EW
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
IO 4239; WANTED FLIER 447
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
DATE: 7/17/69
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

b6
b7C

b1

(S) 5- [redacted]

100 (S) 447251 - 675

(S)

17 JUL 29 1969

CONTINUED - OVER

57 AUG 8 1969

100-447251
ABF:ljz:lkk (9)

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
100-447251

ACTION:

For Information.

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 25 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA.....21

URGENT 7-25-69 RDS 6:55

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 105-89231 AND SAN FRANCISCO

88-12329 100-56066 CODE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 105-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AKA-FUGITIVE;

WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC ASSUALT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER,

ETC. OO: SAN FRANCISCO

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT; SECURITY MATTER-ANA (KEY

ACTIVIST) OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

ON JULY TWENTY FIVE INSTANT [redacted]

UNITES STATES PASSPORT OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NEW YORK

CITY ADVISED THAT ALBERT TODAY APPLIED FOR PASSPORT TO

TRAVEL TO FRANCE. HE STATED PURPOSE OF TRIP WAS TO VISIT

FRIEND AND INTENDED TO DEPART JULY TWENTY EIGHT NEXT BY AIR.

ALBERT STATED THAT DURATION OF TRIP WOULD BE FOR THREE DAYS.

ALBERT GAVE HIS ADDRESS AS TWO NINE ONE SEVEN ASHBY

AVENUE, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA.

ALBERT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY [redacted]

[redacted], NEW YORK, NEW YORK WHO ACTED AS WITNESS

FOR ALBERT IN APPLYING FOR PASSPORT.

END PAGE ONE

XEROX
JUL 30 1969

TELETYPED TO:

5 AUG 5 1969

EX-102

REC 37 100-447251-625

17 JUL 29 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-892

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

[redacted] IS [redacted]

[redacted] ADVISED THAT ALBERTS PASSPORT WILL BE READY THREE PM, JULY TWENTY EIGHT NEXT AND ALBERT INDICATED THAT HE WOULD PICK UP PASSPORT AT THAT TIME. BOTH ALBERT AND CLEAVER CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO DATED JULY TWENTY FOUR LAST.

SUGGEST BUREAU ALBERT LEGAT PARIS.

NEW YORK OFFICE ATTEMPTING TO VERIFY DEPARTURE OF ALBERT AND ASCERTAIN TRAVEL PLANS THROUGH CONTACT WITH AIRLINES.

END

WA...JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 12-01-2006

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
1 - Mr. F.B. Griffith, 920, 9&D
1 - Mr. George Moore, 814, 9&D 7/29/69
1 - Mr Shroder, 5710

CODE

CABLEGRAM

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY RW DATE 8/2/84

URGENT

TO LEGAT PARIS

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251) (105-89231)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT, SM - ANA (KEY ACTIVIST).

THIS CONFIRMS THAT ALBERT WAS SCHEDULED TO DEPART NEW YORK JULY TWENTYEIGHT LAST ABOARD TWA FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR AT NINE THIRTY PM FOR PARIS, BUT FAILED TO DO SO. ALBERT ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS CARRYING A THIRTYTWO CALIBER REVOLVER. EFFORTS CONTINUING TO DETERMINE WHEREABOUTS OF ALBERT.

LEGAT IF POSSIBLE ARRANGE THROUGH APPROPRIATE SOURCES TO COVER AIR ARRIVALS FROM U. S. AND CANADA IN EFFORT TO LEARN OF SUBJECT'S ARRIVAL AND, IF POSSIBLE, DETERMINE IF ARMED. IF FIREARM LOCATED, IT COULD BE BASIS FOR PROSECUTION FOR CRIME ABOARD AIRCRAFT. LEGAT DETERMINE WHETHER, UPON ARRIVAL, ALBERT THEN PROCEEDS TO ALGIERS TO MAKE CONTACT WITH CLEAVER. (U)

1 - San Francisco

VIA TELETYPE
8:10 P JUL 29 1969
ENCIPHERED

RECEIVED 1:20 JUL 30 1969

ABE:SRF:lad

Class. by D32/DCMG
Date of Review 9-1-83
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) DATE:

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

55 AUG 5 1969

Cablegram to Legat Paris
Re: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver; Stewart Edward Albert

LEGAT BE ALERT TO POSSIBILITY CLEAVER MAY BE IN FRANCE.

KEEP BUREAU ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS. COPY MAILED SAN FRANCISCO.

BOTH ALBERT AND CLEAVER CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

NOTE: Albert according to informant [redacted]. Cleaver is believed to be in Algeria. Above action was coordinated with interested Divisions. Flight information obtained from SAC Gamble, New York.

b7D

ABE:JRF:lad
(9)

-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Transmit the following in

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

An article appearing in the July 17, 1969, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco, Calif., a daily newspaper, in the Herb Caen column, states subject is in Room 105 of the Aletti Hotel in Algiers (telephone 635-040) and would like to hear from his friends. The article quotes CLEAVER as follows: "I also wish my parole officer would call me, and Joe Alioto and Governor Reagan," presumably to arrange for his return to the U. S. As for pregnant Kathleen, who is with him, "The baby is still a month away."

Herb Caen runs a daily gossip column in the San Francisco Chronicle.

The 8:00 a.m.,PDST, newscast on San Francisco Radio Station KSFO broadcast a telephonic interview by JEFF SCOBE (ph) employed by KSFO. The interview was allegedly with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and took place in a.m. of 7/17/69. CLEAVER was allegedly in Algiers at time of interview. The broadcast indicates that CLEAVER has been out of the U. S. for the past

2 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco
RCD:ab
(3)

REC-3 100-447251-677
EX-117

10 JUL 19 1969

FBI - SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

5 AUG 5 1969

Approved: Sent M Per
Special Agent in Charge

7 months. He did not state where he had been but did report he had been in 8 countries and was pleased with his treatment in all of them. He indicated he would like to return to the San Francisco, Calif., area but listed the following three circumstances under which he would return:

1) The California Adult Authority would agree to a new trial for him as he was sure he would be exonerated.
2) Apprehension by the FBI.
3) "Sneak" back to Oakland, Calif.

An article appearing in the 7/16/69 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle by Reuters at Algiers states that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER arrived in Algeria 7/15/69 as an official Government guest. The article quoted the official news agency, Algerie Press Service, as saying that CLEAVER was accompanied by his wife, KATHLEEN. The news agency said the subject would attend a Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers 7/21-8/1/69.

CLEAVER is reported as saying on arrival in Algeria that he intends to retain his position as Information Minister for the Panthers and would also fulfill his duties as Editor of the Ramparts Magazine, San Francisco, Calif.

CLEAVER was quoted as saying he would act as a roving international reporter for the magazine. The article states there was no suggestion that CLEAVER would return to the U. S.

The Bureau may wish to disseminate the information regarding CLEAVER's alleged whereabouts in Algiers to the Department of State.

A & D

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

EX-114

REC-50 100-447251-681

[redacted]

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]:

I want to thank you for your letter received on July 22nd relating to Eldridge Cleaver. I understand the interest and concern which prompted you to write and appreciate receiving your views.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Newark - Enclosure

NOTE: Based upon available information, correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Party and James Earl Ray are well known to the Bureau.

MAILED 23
JUL 24 1969
COMM-FBI

LMG:sge (4)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

51 AUG 6 1969

DO-7

FROM

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

MR. TOLSON ( )
MR. DELOACH ( )
MR. MOHR ( )
MR. BISHOP ( )
MR. CASPER ( )
MR. CALLAHAN ( )
MR. CONRAD ( )
MR. FELT ( )
MR. GALE ( )
MR. ROSEN ( )
MR. SULLIVAN ( )
MR. TAVEL ( )
MR. TROTTER ( )
MISS HOLMES ( )
MISS GANDY ( )

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

SEE ME ( )
NOTE AND RETURN ( )
PREPARE REPLY ( )
SEND MEMO TO ATTORNEY GENERAL ( )
FOR YOUR RECOMMENDATION ( )
WHAT ARE THE FACTS? ( )
HOLD ( )

REMARKS:

M. A. Jones Felt

CRD

ACK'N'W
7/31/67

b6
b7C

TRUE COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED [redacted]
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

2

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am letting you in on one of the dangers of our times. He is Eldridge Cleaver, the exiled leader of of the communistic Black Panther Party.

It is my belief that you should check out the rumor of whether or not he is in Algeria, as I heard on the radio, and bring him to justice or start a massive international serch for him. I say this for reasons that if you make an example of this revolutionary, you just might put enough of a scare in his organization to wipe them off the face of the earth forever.

4

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

P.S. After all, you put up enough action to bring in James Earl Ray, so you can do this much to give the white and black Americans one less headache

1 tc
7-22-69
[illegible]

EX-114

REC-50 100-447251-68

12 JUL 30 1969

Ack: mnl
7-24-69
LMG/[illegible]

[redacted]

8/8

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

9

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am letting you in on one of the dangers of our time. He is Eldridge Cleaver, the exiled leader of of the communistic Black Panther Party.

It is my belief that you should check out the rumor of whether or not he is in Algeria, as I heard on the radio, and bring him to justice or start a massive international serch for him. I say this for reasons that if you make an example of this revolutionary, you just might put enough of a scare in his organization to wipe them off the face of the earth forever.

b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

1+c
7-22-69
enb

Ack. rcvd
7-24-69
LM 6 [illegible]

[redacted]

P.S. After all, you put up enough action to bring in James Earl

Ray, so you can do this much to give the white and black ~~an~~ Americans one less head ache

JUL 22 11 33 AM '69

REC'D-CORR & TOURS

NIK 2&2/78,/6

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 28 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale

WA -10-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED [redacted] DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60 [redacted] TAM/DCG/EHL

705PM URGENT 7-28-69 DCC

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-89231) AND SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (100-56066) C O D E

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321) (105-42122) 2P

Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA-FUGITIVE; WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ETC. OO..SF.

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT; SECURITY MATTER-ANA, (KEY ACTIVIST) OO..SF.

b6
b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-89231.

RE NY TEL SEVEN TWENTY FIVE LAST. 100-447251-675

[redacted] US PASSPORT OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NEW YORK CITY, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT ALBERT WAS ISSUED A PASSPORT TODAY AFTER FINAL APPROVAL FROM WASHINGTON. [redacted] STATED THAT ALBERT INDICATED HE WAS TO DEPART, THIS DATE JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT, QUEENS, NEW YORK VIA TRANS WORLD AIRWAYS, (TWA), FLIGHT DEPARTING AT NINE THIRTY PM, DESTINATION, PARIS, FRANCE.

ST-106 REC 12 100-447251-9

100-447251-680X

8 JUL 29 1969

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

XEROX
JUL 30 1969

249

30 AUG-6 1969

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

TODAY, [redacted] TWA, ADVISED THAT FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR, DESTINATION, PARIS, DEPARTS AT NINE THIRTY PM. TWA ATTEMPTING TO CONFIRM RESERVATIONS OF ALBERT AND [redacted] ON THIS FLIGHT. NYO WILL ATTEMPT TO VERIFY SUBJECT ALBERT'S DEPARTURE. BUREAU REQUESTED TO ADVISE LEGAT PARIS OF ALBERT'S PROPOSED TRAVEL. BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

R RELAY REM

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

30/69

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

CABLEGRAM URGENT

TO LEGAT PARIS

REC 36 EX. 117

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

ALBERT ACCORDING TO AMERICAN AIRLINES RECORDS RETURNED TO SAN FRANCISCO FROM NEW YORK ON JULY TWENTYEIGHT, LAST. SAN FRANCISCO ATTEMPTING TO VERIFY ALBERT'S WHEREABOUTS.

ALBERT AND CLEAVER BOTH ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

1 - 105-89231

JRF:lad/cm
(5)

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 30 1969
ENCIPHERED

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

57 AUG 11 1969

UNREC COPY FILED IN 105-89231

WA...10

FBI NEW YORK

U-0 7-00 PM URGENT 7-29-69 AMS

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 29 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND (105-89231), AND SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) AND (100-560066)

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

TO SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON ----ENCODED----

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321) AND (105-42122) 3P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AKA - FUGITIVE

WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ETC

WF#447
ID#4239

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

STUART EDWARD ALBERT;

SECURITY MATTER - ANA

(KEY ACTIVIST)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

XEROX
AUG 5 1969

EX. 117

100-447251-681

105-892

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE JULY TWENTY NINE INSTANT.

ON JULY TWENTY NINE INSTANT, CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED THAT STUART EDWARD ALBERT DEPARTED NEW YORK CITY ON JULY TWENTY EIGHT LAST FROM JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT ABOARD AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT FORTY NINE BOUND FOR SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. SOURCE ADVISED THAT [redacted] [redacted] LEFT WITH ALBERT ABOARD SAME FLIGHT.

REC 36

AUG 4 1969

b6
b7C
b7D

SOURCE ADVISED THAT THAT [redacted]

[redacted].

UNREC COPY FILED IN

SA [redacted] advised 8 PM 7/31/69

Teletype to PAR 7-30-69 JRF Hand

END OF PAGE ONE TELETYPED TO: SF

SOURCE ADVISED ALSO THAT [redacted]

[redacted] AMERICAN AIRLINES (AA) ADVISED TODAY THAT A RESERVATION WAS MADE FOR A FNU ALBERT FOR AA FLIGHT FORTY NINE DEPARTING JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT AT ELEVEN THRITY PM ON JULY TWENTY EIGHT LAST WITH DESTINATION OF SAN FRANCISCO. [redacted] ADVISED THAT AA HAS NO RECORD OF ALBERT CANCELLING THIS RESERVATION. NO RECORD OF [redacted] LOCATED. HOWEVER, [redacted] ADVISED THAT STUDENTS ARE NOT LISTED BY NAME ON MANIFEST WHEN TRAVELLING UNDER STUDENT AIR TRAVEL CARD.

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b7C
b7D

BOTH CLEAVER AND ALBERT CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END OF PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [redacted] (PROTECT BY REQUEST).

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN DISSEMINATING ABOVE INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT SOURCE [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

BUREAU SHOULD NOTIFY LEGAT PARIS OF ABOVE.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL VERIFY RETURN OF ALBERT AND [redacted] TO SAN FRANCISCO. INVESTIGATION CONTINUING IN NEW YORK CONCERNING ACTIVITIES OF ALBERT. b6 b7C

END AND ACK

WA...RDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 03-24-2006

ENCLOSURE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA ---02---

1116AM URGENT 7/30/69 DWC

TO DIRECTOR, WFO AND NEW YORK CODE

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAN FRANCISCO 2P

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 4-24-84

NR

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT, SM - ANA (KEY ACTIVIST), OO--SF, BU ONE ZERO FIVE EIGHT NINE TWO THREE ONE, NY ONE ZERO FIVE FOUR TWO ONE TWO TWO, SF ONE HUNDRED FIVE SIX ZERO SIX SIX; LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ETC., OO--SF, BU ONE HUNDRED FOUR FOUR SEVEN TWO FIVE ONE, NY ONE HUNDRED ONE SIX ONE THREE TWO ONE, SF EIGHTYEIGHT ONE TWO THREE TWO NINE; [redacted] SM - RU (NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE), OO--SF, BU ONE HUNDRED FOUR FIVE ONE EIGHT ZERO TWO, SF ONE HUNDRED SIX ONE TWO EIGHT TWO.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Class. by 10321 DLM/gpg
Date of Review OADR
9-1-83

RE NY TELS JULY TWENTYNINE.

THIS MORNING [redacted] ADVISED HE

b2
b7D

END PAGE ONE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-447251

100-447251-
NOT RECORDED
192 AUG 8 1969

~~AUG 6 1969~~

TELETYPED TO:
NY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

59 AUG 14 1969

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

HAD LEARNED [redacted]

[redacted] THAT ALBERT AND [redacted] ARRIVED IN SF ON EARLY MORNING OF JULY TWENTYNINE. (U)

THIS ARRIVAL WOULD COINCIDE WITH ALBERT'S AND [redacted] PROBABLE DEPARTURE AT ELEVEN THIRTY P.M. JULY TWENTYEIGHT FROM JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT VIA AMERICAN FLIGHT FORTYNINE AS SET FORTH IN RE NY TELS.

COPY SENT WFO FOR INFO IN CONNECTION WITH ANY REQUESTS WFO MIGHT HAVE RE ALBERT'S PASSPORT APPLICANTION.

CLEAVER AND ALBERT A & D.

END

R RELAY PAO

FBI WASH DC

I

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 29 1969

ENCIPHER

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA...11

FBI NEW YORK

7-33 PM URGENT 7-29-69 AMS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-89231) AND SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (100-56066)

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

TO SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321) (105421 22) 2P

b6
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE; WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ~~EIC~~ (OO:SF)

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT; SM-ANA (KEY ACTIVIST) (OO:SF)

RE NY TEL JULY TWENTY NINE INSTANT.

ON JULY TWENTY NINE, [redacted] TRANS WORLD AIRLINES (TWA) ADVISED THAT SUBJECT ALBERT WAS A "NO SHOW" FOR FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR ON TWA, JULY TWENTY EIGHT LAST. HE EXPLAINED THAT ALBERT DID HAVE RESERVATIONS FOR THE FLIGHT BUT THEY WERE CANCELLED AT THE LAST MINUTE BY A TELEPHONE CALL.

[redacted] FURTHER ADVISED THAT ALBERT MADE THE RESERVATION FOR FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR ON JULY TWENTY EIGHT LAST AND IN SO DOING, INQUIRED AS TO CONNECTION FOR ALGIERS.

END OF PAGE ONE

EX.-111 100-447251-682

REC 36

14 AUG 4 1969

XEROX AUG 5 1969

SA

TELETYPED TO:

57 AUG 11 1969

105-89231

UNREC COPY FILED IN

b6
b7C

HE WAS ADVISED THAT HE COULD TAKE FLIGHT FOURTEEN ELEVEN FROM PARIS, FRANCE ON JULY TWENTY NINE VIA AIR ALGERIA. ALBERT THEN REQUESTED A CONFIRMATION ON THIS CONNECTION, BUT TWA DID NOT SO CONFIRM. ALBERT INDICATED HE HAD TICKET AND ONLY WANTED A SPACE RESERVATION FOR TWA FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR.

[redacted] STATED THAT ALBERT DID NOT MAKE FURTHER RESERVATIONS WITH TWA AFTER THE "NO SHOW" ON FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR. BUREAU REQUESTED TO FURNISH ABOVE DATA TO LEGAT, PARIS, IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN IF SUBJECT MAY HAVE DEPARTED PARIS, FRANCE VIA AIR ALGERIA FLIGHT FOURTEEN ELEVEN OF THIS DATE.

END AND ACK

WA...RNK R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 29 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL

Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA---01---

FBI NEW YORK

12-19 AM URGENT 7-29-69 J

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-89231) AND

SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (110-56066) CODE

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATT- DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321)(105-42122) 2 P.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AKA - FUGITIVE; WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN,

UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER ETC. (OO-SF)

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT; SM-ANA, (KEY ACTIVIST) (OO-SF)

RENYTEL SEVEN TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYNINE.

ON SEVEN TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYNINE, [redacted]

[redacted] TRANS WORLD AIRLINES (TWA) NY,

NY ADVISED THAT STEWART EDWARD ALBERT HAD RESERVATION ON

FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO FOUR DEPARTING JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT,

NY,NY AT NINE THIRTY PM SEVEN TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYNINE WITH

DESTINATION OF PARIS FRANCE.

END PAGE ONE.....

100-447251-682X

~~88-12329-10~~

REC 12

ST-106

LMR XEROX

JUL 30 1969

JUL 30 1969

TELETYPED TO:

30 AUG 6 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-89231

b6
b7C

ON SEVEN TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYNINE ABOVE FLIGHT DEPARTED JFK AIRPORT AT TEN FIFTEEN PM BUT ALBERT WAS NOT ON BOARD THIS FLIGHT. SA OF FBI OBSERVED PASSENGERS BOARDING FLIGHT BUT NO ONE RESEMBLING ALBERT WAS SEEN BOARDING FLIGHT. REVIEW OF PASSENGER TICKET STUBS AT GATE FOURTEEN, JFK AIRPORT IMMEDIATELY AFTER DEPARTURE OF FLIGHT FAILED TO SHOW ANYONE USING NAME OF STWEART ALBERT BOARDING THIS FLIGHT.

BOTH CLEAVER AND ALBERT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATIVE---

SA [redacted] OBSERVED ABOVE FLIGHT DEPARTURE.

NYO WILL ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER ALBERT HAS MADE DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING TRAVEL TO PARIS FRANCE.

BUREAU SHOULD ADVISE LEGAT, PARIS OF ALBERT'S FAILURE TO BOARD ABOVE FLIGHT.

WA PLS ACK FOR REALY TO SF

WA...END

RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

Handled by Div 5. 7/29/69 Eng

CC- MR SULLIVAN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251) DATE: August 4, 1969

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(oo: San Francisco)

Re San Francisco airtel 6/19/69, and Rome cable 7/24/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of the pertinent page from the U. S. Embassy, Athens, Greece, guest book reflecting the name ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

It should be noted that the guest book is located at one of three entrances to the U. S. Embassy, Athens, and that it is possible to sign it and not be observed by an employee of the Embassy. As soon as a guest book is filled up, another new one is put in its place.

From July 24 to July 30, 1969, the records of the Aliens Directorate, Athens, and the Athens General Security Sub-Directorate, Athens, were checked daily for any pertinent information concerning the subject with negative results. Appropriate stops were placed at all entry and departure points in Greece by the Aliens Directorate concerning the subject.

The Bureau and the San Francisco office will be immediately advised of any pertinent information developed by alerted sources in Greece.

Enc. 2
5 - Bureau (1 - Liaison)
(2 - San Francisco 88-12329)
1 - Rome
TAK:MEG
(6)

REC-54 100-447251-683

AUG 7 1969

2cc & 1 enc - SF
8-11-69 JKF

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5 AUG 13 1969

b6
b7C

HL

7/23/69
7/23/69
7/23/69

7/23/69
7/23/69
7/23/69
7-23-69
3 June 1969
3/7/69

ELIZABETH CLEAVER - CRIM.

23/7/69
23/4/69.
23/4/69

7/23/69

7/23/69

100-447251-683

ENCLOSURE

SECRET

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

RELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 100-447251
See also: 44-39665
176-989

Date: 7-31-69

Subject: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.

Date Searched: 11/8/68

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

SUMMARY

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.
E. Cleaver
Eldridge Cleaver
Eldrilge Cleaver
Elridge Cleaver
~~L. E. Cleaver~~ deleted. See 100-447251-45, 6/5/70 entry
Leroy Cleaver
Leroy E. Cleaver
Leroy Eldredge Cleaver
Eldridge Clever
Eldrige Cliver
Averill Clivers
Eldridge X
Eldredge Cleaver

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst	Coordinator	Approved

EEM:ljh

1- ENCLOSURE

DATE: 11-24-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1, 6) 11-24-2031

100-447251-684

SECRET

Enclosure behind file — search slips on file

55 AUG 18 1969

TV AUG 11 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

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b7C

ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr. can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary. This information may have been received from a different source.

BPP.....Black Panther Party

MIOBPP.....Minister of Information Black Panther Party

BPPSD.....Black Panther Party Self-Defense

CORE.....Congress of Racial Equality

PFP.....Peace and Freedom Party

SNCC.....Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

*****

RELATIVE WHO HAS BUREAU MAIN FILE

The relationship, biographical data, BPP and PFP activities of Eldridge Cleaver were set forth in the serials of the main file on [redacted] as follows:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-8943-2 encl. p.1,3	(~~16~~,31)
-4 p.1,2	(32)
-11 encl. p.2,3,5	(~~16~~,32)
-15 encl. p.1-3	(~~16~~-32)
-16 p.1	(~~16~~)
-20 p.1, encl. p.1,2	(32)

During the period from December, 1960, to June, 1961, the Department of Corrections, State of California, at Sacramento, reported a list of inmates in California Penal Institutions who had been identified by prison officials as Muslims. On this list was the name of Leroy Cleaver at San Quentin.

25-330971-5141 p.52
(25)

On 3/4/63 [redacted] California State Prison, San Quentin, California, reported that four individuals, one of whom was [redacted] Los Angeles, appeared at the prison and asked to be admitted to visit certain inmates. [redacted] requested to visit Eldridge Cleaver, also known as Eldridge X, reported by [redacted] as the known leader of the Black Muslims at San Quentin. Their applications were denied by the Warden. With [redacted] acting as spokesman, they admitted an interest in the spiritual welfare of the Black Muslim inmates at San Quentin; however they would not admit they were Muslims themselves. They also presented a list of requests for the Muslim inmates which was also denied by the Warden.

b6
b7C

25-330971-47-15 p.12
(2,33)
SI 25-330971-47-8 encl. p.1
(2,33)

[redacted] reported that on 1/4/67 [redacted] (100-445298) had been in contact with Eldridge Cleaver. According to [redacted], Cleaver was recently released after serving a nine year sentence at Folsom State Prison. He described Cleaver as a former follower of Malcom X. According to [redacted] the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was attempting to have Cleaver come to Los Angeles to help [redacted] organize the PLP in Watts. [redacted] said that while Cleaver was in prison he smuggled in PLP literature and conducted Marxism-Leninism classes.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

100-445298-23 p.28,29
(6)

b2
b7D

On 1/23/67 [redacted] provided a letter [redacted] sent to the Ad Hoc Committee For A Marxist-Leninist Party (100-442715) in Chicago. This communication mentioned a "Ramparts Magazine" forum on Black Power recently held and described Eldridge Cleaver as "fresh from jail, moderated and seemed able to handle the questions adequately but we never really got down to a Marxist evaluation if that was what was intended." (Place of forum not given)

(Copy of above letter enclosed)
100-442715-1085 encl. p.1
(6)

[redacted] reported that Eldridge Cleaver was one of the speakers on 4/14/67 at an anti-war rally held at Wheeler Hall, University of California, Berkeley Campus. The speakers at this rally denounced the U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Student Mobilization Committee (100-446761).

Add. info.

100-446761-99 encl. p.7
(7)

On 4/21/67 Eldridge Cleaver was a speaker at a meeting of the Discussion Unlimited, Inc. (100-439977) held in the auditorium of Los Angeles Trade Technical College, 400 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles. Cleaver was introduced as being a writer for "Ramparts" magazine. He spoke in derogatory terms of the Caucasians in America; he advocated looking abroad for alliances for the Negro in America; and he also advocated violence. Cleaver was also one of the panelist at this meeting. [redacted]

100-439977-26 p.B,12,13
(6)

The following references in the file captioned "Spring Mobilization Committee (SMC)" contain information pertaining to the activities of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver in connection with SMC, during the period April-May, 1967 in San Francisco. Cleaver spoke at demonstrations sponsored by SMC. He planned to participate in the SMC. He planned to participate in the SMC delegation who opposed the

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War in Viet Nam, visiting President Johnson on 5/17/67; but was denied the request by the Parole Board. Also set out was information concerning Cleaver's arrest record and background data.

REFERENCE	SEARCHESLIP PAGE NUMBER
62-111181-643	(3)
-700 p.1	(3)
729 encl. p.2	(3,28)
-756 p.1,2 (Photo enclosed)	(28)
-801 encl. p.7,11,18,19	(3)

The publication "New Politics" contained an article captioned "Murder in Oakland" by Elizabeth Sutherland-Martinez dated Summer, 1967. Under this caption appeared a statement of the beliefs of the BPP by Eldridge Cleaver. This article set out in detail information concerning the BPP and information regarding an attack of the Oakland Police Department on the BPP at which time one of the BPP was killed and Cleaver was wounded and arrested.

Information also indicated that the BPP had established an International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver and to help the Panthers generally. The Committee was to circulate a petition for a minimum of 20,000 signatures to be presented to the Governor of California. Contributions for legal expenses were to be sent to Eldridge Cleaver Fund, 682 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY. 10010.

See Publications
"New Politics", Summer, 1967 p.26,-28
(2)

The following references indicated that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver of "Ramparts" Magazine, was scheduled to speak at a meeting on 7/30/67, Portland, Oregon. Sponsors of this meeting included the Ad Hoc Committee For Black Arts and Culture. It was reported that Cleaver did not appear at the meeting. Background data was also set forth.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-7726-4	(15,31)
-8	(15)
- not recorded serial 7/31/67, filed above serial 8	(not indexed)

[redacted] advised that on 12/24/67 [redacted] (157-8758) attended a public meeting of the BPPSD at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California. At this meeting LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver, stated in part: "If Huey (Percy Newton) goes down, we'll all go down with him." Cleaver was referring to the trial of Newton on murder charges in Superior Court of Alameda County, Oakland.

157-8758-2 p.9
(31)

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[redacted] on 1/5/68 advised that [redacted] (157-8948) attended a meeting in San Francisco, California sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum (Trotskyites) where Bobby George Seale, Chairman of BPPSD, and LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver, MIO for BPPSD, were speakers.

157-8948-2 encl. p.5
(32)

[redacted] advised that as of February, 1968 [redacted] (157-8955) was a member of the BPPSD and was observed carrying a revolver and being a close associate of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, MIOBPPSD.

157-8955-1 p.6
(32)

Officer [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that [redacted] (157-9246) was in contact with Leroy Eldridge Cleaver and [redacted] in February, 1968. (Place of contact and details not given).

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b7C

157-9246-2 p.5,6
(32)

[redacted] advised that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver spoke at a BPP general membership meeting on 2/11/68 held at St. Philips Community Church, 42nd and Grove Streets, Oakland, California. This meeting was also attended by [redacted] (157-9725). Cleaver gave a 20-minute talk in which he described the organization as being a revolutionary political organization and specified that members of the BPP should feel justified in stealing, robbing, or tearing off anything they need from "the man" because white people have for 400 years cheated and stolen from the black race.

157-9725-1 p.3,5
(32)
SI 157-8809-5 p.3,5
(16)

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[redacted] b1

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(S)

[redacted] advised that in March, 1968 four Negroes alleged to be members of the BPP visited NYC by automobile from California to arrange matters relating to the publishing of a book by one of the BPP leaders (Eldridge Cleaver who had recently written a book called "Soul on Ice"). The four persons in the automobile were said to be Cleaver, [redacted]. b2 b6 b7C b7D

The serial described [redacted] (157-9402) and [redacted] as leaders of the Black Student Union, a militant black nationalist student organization, at San Francisco State College. [redacted] was described as a BPP leader. b6 b7C

157-9402-1 p.10
(16)

[redacted] advised that [redacted] (157-10093) attended a meeting sponsored by the San Diego Black Council leadership at the Southcrest Recreation Center, San Diego, 3/19/68. Eldridge Cleaver, MIO and Bobby Seale, Chairman of the BPPSD from Los Angeles were to appear to address the meeting, but failed to arrive. b2 b6 b7C b7D

157-10093-3 p.11
(17)

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The publication "Guardian" dated 3/30/68 p.3, contained an article entitled "Black-White Coalition in California" by Don Newton, Richmond, California. This article contained information pertaining to the Founding Convention of California's PFP from March 15 to 17. The most dramatic aspect of the convention was the surprisingly intense relationship between the BPP and the PFP. Eldridge Cleaver, MIO of the BPP made the nominating speech which insured Paul Jacob's nomination for senator. Cleaver also participated in Caucuses and spoke at the convention. A photograph of Cleaver accompanied this article.

See Publications
"Guardian" 3/30/68 p.3
(1)

The San Francisco Office by letter dated 9/13/68 advised that a resident of Canada in April, 1968, attempted to contact a [redacted] through telephone number [redacted] This number was found to be listed for the BPP, but was installed in the apartment of [redacted], San Francisco. The name of [redacted] was unknown to the San Francisco Office although it appeared she was connected in some way with Cleaver (not identified) and the BPP.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "[redacted]" (157-9872).

157-9872-2 p.1 encl. p.2
(17)

The publication "National Review Bulletin" dated 4/2/68 contained an article entitled "California's Far-Left". This article indicated that BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver denounced black members of the PFP as "misguided political freaks".

See Publications
"National Review Bulletin," 4/2/68 p.2
(1)

This reference captioned "[redacted] the BPP, San Francisco, set out information which indicated that [redacted] was arrested on 4/5/68 in San Francisco on suspicion of receiving stolen property. When arrested he had considerable material pertaining to the BPP. Part of the material included a "Notation of chain of

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command of BPP" with names listed such as Eldridge Cleaver, Headquarters Captain.

On 4/8/68 at the San Francisco City Jail [redacted] in an interview stated that he knew Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, Chairman, BPP, quite well, that Cleaver lived on Oak Street not far from his own residence. He said he knew [redacted] and Bobby Hutton (not identified) only slightly, it being noted that these two, with Cleaver and others were involved in a shooting with Oakland Police on 4/6/68.

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157-10028-1 p.4,7,14
(17)

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On 4/12/68, Radio Liberacion, Havana, Cuba, according to [redacted], broadcast in Spanish a telephone interview between Bobby Silk (phonetic), official spokesman for the BPP in the US, and Radio Havana, Cuba. A summary translation of this broadcast disclosed that Silk reported on the health of Averill Clivers (phonetic), described as a leader of the BPP, who had been wounded a week previously by the Oakland, California Police Department. During the broadcast it was indicated that Clivers had been arrested while members of the BPP were distributing arms to members of the Negro community in order to defend themselves from racist attacks by the police. Silk furnished plans for the funeral service of Bobby Hutton who had been killed during the above incident, after which a planned demonstration would take place in front of the jail where Clivers was being detained.

A pencil notation indicated that Bobby Silk was Bobby George Seale and Averill Clivers was Eldridge Cleaver.

64-45716-545 p.5
(4,33)

By letter dated 4/26/68 the San Francisco Office advised that [redacted] (100-443769) had recently noted to be assuming a leadership role in the BPP as a result of the arrests of other BPP figures such as Eldridge Cleaver.

100-443769-6
(6)

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The publication "Ramparts" dated May, 1968 page 8, contained two articles written by Eldridge Cleaver, a Staff writer. The first article captioned "Requiem for Nonviolence" pertained to the death of Dr. Martin Luther King and the effect on black people. The second article captioned "The Land Question" concerned the colonial status of the black people in America. Also included was an article by a Senior Editor, Gene Marine, captioned "Getting Eldridge Cleaver". This article related to the incident on April 6th between the Oakland Police and members of the BPP when a BPP member and a policeman were killed and Cleaver was wounded. A photograph of Cleaver accompanied this article.

See Publications
"Ramparts" May, 1968 p.2,18,48-53
(2)

[redacted] advised that on 5/23/68 a rally sponsored by the Peace and Freedom Party (100-447021) and by the International Committee to Free Eldridge Cleaver, Box 2967, San Francisco, California, was held at the University Theatre, New York School of Education, Green Street and East 4th Street, NYC.

According to [redacted] the speakers included Conrad Lynn, as New York Negro Attorney and civil rights militant; and also Kathleen Cleaver, communications secretary of the BPP. b2 b7D

[redacted] reported that the above speakers at this rally called for the release of Eldridge Cleaver. (Not further explained.) According to same source a collection was taken during the rally and approximately $100.00 was obtained from the audience.

100-447021-11 encl. p.1
(7)

The following references on Eldridge Cleaver appear in the main file on Stokely Carmichael of the BPPSD. These references set out information pertaining to the BPP activities of Cleaver and his association with Carmichael during the period 1967-6/3/68 in California. In February, 1967 Cleaver, a member of the editorial staff of "Ramparts magazine, did a story on Carmichael to be published. Carmichael had been invited to visit several countries in Africa during the month of March, and it was "Rampart's" desire to assign Cleaver to this story. Considering the violation of Cleaver's parole he was not permitted to make the trip to Africa with Carmichael. On 5/30/68 Carmichael attended

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a hearing in the Court of Solano County on Cleaver. On 5/31/68 Carmichael at a demonstration at the California Department of Corrections in San Francisco, made a statement as how to get Cleaver out of jail.

Information was also set out pertaining to [redacted] who corresponded and sent him left wing literature while incarcerated. Cleaver apparently was becoming involved in the civil rights movement and was given recognition through the use of his connection with "Ramparts" and his association with Carmichael. It was also reported that on 1/30/68 a car had been rented by Cleaver at Dulles Airport and returned on 1/31/68, Washington, D.C. Background data also included.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-446080-141 p.1,2	(7,29)
-1018 encl. p.1	(29)
-1167 p.1,2	(7)
-1237 encl. p.1	(7)
-1674 encl. p.3,4	(7)
-1680 encl. p.1	(7)

The "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, Memphis, Tenn., issue of 4/25/68 reported that Eldridge Cleaver, spokesman for the BPP, said that if Huey P. Newton was not set free it would be almost impossible to avoid conflicts in the streets. The article reported that Cleaver appeared at a news conference at United Nations (UN) Plaza accompained by 30 black-clad Panthers who had come to the UN calling for establishment of UN observer teams in the US "wherein black people are cooped up and concentrated in wretched ghettos". Cleaver said his group received assurances from Cuban and Tanzanian Missions at the UN.

On 6/13/68 [redacted] Radio Station WDIA, Memphis, furnished a tape of 6/9/68 interview program, "Young America Speaks", wherein Charles L. Cabbage and John B. Smith, as Mozan Rura, were interviewed by Moderator Chris A. Turner. In this interview Smith identified groups including the BPP, which were doing the most for blacks in the US. He also identified Katherine Cleaver of the BPP, wife of its leader, Eldridge Cleaver, as one of the best black leaders.

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The serial indicated that Cabbage and Smith were identified as Black Organizing Power Officers.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Black Nationalist Movement". (157-8415)

157-8415-28-6 p.35,38,52
(15)

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] (157-10482) of the BPP, attended a meeting of the BPP which was held 6/13/68 at St. Augustine's Espiscopal Church, Oakland. This meeting was conducted by Eldridge Cleaver who spent the entire evening discussing the conditions which he experienced while he was incarcerated. (Not further discribed.)

157-10482-1 p.11
(17)

On 6/19/68 [redacted] (157-7987), [redacted] Los Angeles, stated that currently the BPP was holding a meeting in Los Angeles with representatives from Oakland, California meeting with the officers of the Los Angeles group. Representatives from Oakland that were in Los Angeles included Elridge Cleaver. [redacted] stated he was formerly with SNCC and currently was a representative for the Black Congress, an organization which represented the Black Nationalists groups in Los Angeles.

157-7987-14 encl. p.3
(23)

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Lieutenant [redacted], Intelligence Division, Sacramento Police Department, reported that Eldridge Cleaver would be a speaker at a rally on 6/19/68 in connection with the Proposed Poor People's March on Sacramento, California on 6/19/68. Lieutenant [redacted] advised that the demonstrations which were billed as a "Day of Solidarity", were being held to coincide with the March on Washington, D.C. Lieutenant [redacted] said that apparently Eldridge Cleaver did not go to Sacramento for the demonstration.

157-8428-2718 encl. p.1,3
(15)

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[redacted] advised that on June 20 and 21, 1968 the New York Peace and Freedom Party (NYPFP) (62-112392) held a prepetition drive conference and nominating convention at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street New York, NY. The convention nominated Eldridge Cleaver of the BPP for President and [redacted] for Vice President. Cleaver and [redacted] received the majority of votes for the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominations respectively.

The platform that was adopted was basically the platform prepared by the NYPFP, Eldridge Cleaver for President Committee. The campaign Platform Proposal was set out.

62-112392-1 encl. p.1,3,4,7
(3)

This reference captioned "Ad Hoc Committee to Support French Workers and Students" set out information on demonstrations occurring in Berkeley, California during the period 7/2/68 through 7/4/68. On 7/4/68 at a rally on Telegraph Road, Berkeley, major speeches by Eldridge Cleaver of the BPP and Peter Camejo, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, stressed the victory achieved over the Berkeley City Council and the subsequent need to obtain amnesty for those arrested during the course of the demonstrations. Emphasized was the continuing fight to achieve freedom for Huey Newton, BPP member under indictment for the alleged murder of an Oakland, California police officer.

A sound permit for the rally was obtained from the Berkeley Police Department in the name of the Young Socialist Alliance. (Source not clear, possibly [redacted]. b2 b7D

62-112323-71 encl. p.3,5
(3)

[redacted] reported Charlene Alexander Mitchell (100-401066) on 7/16/68 had a press conference at the office of the Northern California District CP, 942 Market Street, San Francisco. She stated that one of the principal reasons for her trip to the San Francisco area was to support those who would free Huey Newton and to offer the services of the CP to Eldridge Cleaver, BPPMIO.

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The "San Francisco Examiner" page 5 dated 7/16/68 contained an article by Edmund J. Dooley captioned "Admits She Can't Win"; "Woman Red '68 Race". This article stated that Mrs. Charlene Mitchell a presidential contender, advocated support for those who would "Free Huey" on trial for killingan Oakland Police Officer. Mrs. Mitchell said she attended a "Free Huey" rally and offered the party's services to Eldridge Cleaver, but had not yet been called on for any specific services.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" page 12 dated 7/17/68 contained an article by Charles DeYoung Thieriot captioned "A Presidential Aspirant Who Isn't a Hopeful". This article indicated that Charlene Mitchell who spoke at a demonstration on the steps of the Alameda county courthouse in Oakland where the trial of Huey Newton had begun said she had conferred with Eldridge Cleaver. "We offered to help in any specific way", and that Cleaver had welcomed their help as he would any other, but had not asked for any specific help.

100-401066-109 encl. p.1,2 encl. p.1,2
(5)

By letter dated 7/10/68 [redacted] California advised of the criticism of the FBI and spreading of hate over a radio program on KGO by Mark Lane and other guests. [redacted] also mentioned the fact that Eldrige Cliver was an admitted Revolutionist and wanted to know if people of his kind could be stopped from ruining the country. On 7/18/68 the Bureau acknowledged [redacted] letter.

62-0-72206
(20)

This reference captioned "Huey P. Newton" set out information that Eldridge Cleaver was the principal speaker at a rally to aid Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the BPP, held at Eastside Park, San Mateo, California, 7/20/68. This rally was sponsored by the PFP. In his speech Cleaver advocated violence if Newton was executed, and implied that guerrilla warfare was most effective and urged the audience to get guns. He also made a plea for persons to become members of the BPP. A Handbill was enclosed advertising the above meeting.

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The serial indicated that Newton was on trial in Oakland, California for the murder of an Oakland police officer.

157-9552-2 encl. p.1,2,3,4,6,7
(17)

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[redacted] and [redacted] reported that on 7/19/68 Bobby George Seale (105-137683), Chairman of the BPP, spoke at a meeting at the Memorial Recreation Center, San Diego, California. Seale explained that Eldridge Cleaver was scheduled to speak on that date in San Diego, but that he was on probation and had been denied the right of leaving the San Francisco area.

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According to [redacted] (protect identity) on 7/19/68 there were approximately 500 people at the First Unitarian Church to hear Eldridge Cleaver.

[redacted] reported that on 7/21/68 at the PFP convention in New York, Bobby Seale accepted the PFP nomination of BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver for president of the U.S. in the November elections on behalf of Cleaver who could not attend. Cleaver received 115 out of 119 votes present.

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105-137683-33 p.6,8,12,15
(9)

On 7/22/68 [redacted] reported that [redacted] [redacted] (100-450463) [redacted] was writing a book on the [redacted] (Not further identified.) The source advised that [redacted] one of whom was Eldridge Cleaver of "Ramparts." According to source, [redacted] said the book [redacted] was to be translated into Spanish and distributed throughout Latin America. [redacted] hoped the book would serve as a link between revolutionaries north and south.

100-450463-1
(8)

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[redacted] (S)

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100-450485-1 encl. p.2,5
(S)

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[redacted] reported on 7/25/68 that Eldridge Cleaver had gotten word from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that [redacted] (100-443566) no longer spoke for SNCC. According to [redacted].

100-443566-92 p.9,10
(S)

[redacted] (protect identity) advised that in May, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver was planning to establish an Economic Planning Committee out of the Community Advising Committee. This Committee would have the task of drawing up a multi-million dollar plan for the economic emancipation of the ghetto areas of Oakland, California. The plan was to establish a string of community co-ops. The estimate, cost and funding of co-ops was set out.

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In July, 1968 [redacted] advised that [redacted] was [redacted] a new, covert radical group, the "Red Union" (RU) devoted to promoting the Marxist-Leninist tenets of the CP of China. According to the informant the RU currently was active on behalf of the PFP Presidential candidate Eldridge Cleaver.

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Chris Milton appeared at California Hall, Polk and Turk Streets, San Francisco on 7/25/68 where the principal speaker was Eldridge Cleaver who outlined his campaign for the President of the US on the PFP ticket. Milton was listed as one of the speakers and his affiliation with the Red Guard was set forth.

The serial described Chris Milton as Maoist-orientated and affiliated with the Red Guard.

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The above infomation appeared in the file captioned "Foreign Influence in the Black Nationalist Movement". (157-8141)

157-8141-242 p.2,3; encl. p.2,4
(15)

On 7/26/68 [redacted] (protect identity), related that arrangements had been made for the appearance of Eldridge Cleaver as principal speaker at the Peace and Freedom Rally to be held at the Central Technical High School, Syracuse on 7/27/68.

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[redacted] (protect identity), stated that Cleaver and six other persons had departed Rochester, N.Y., destined for Syracuse, NY on 7/27/68 in a 1963 Chevrolet sedan, bearing New Jersey license [redacted].

On 8/1/68 [redacted] Syracuse, N.Y., advised that during the preceding week she had observed cars in front of the residence, [redacted], one of which was a blue Chevrolet, with New Jersey license [redacted].

164-477-4 encl. p.10
(18)

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b7C

Correlator's note: Further review disclosed that [redacted] (164-477) had formerly lived at [redacted], an apartment building.

This reference captioned "Bobbie James Hutton-Victim" set out considerable information pertaining to Leroy Eldridge Cleaver in connection with a gun battle between the BPP members and the Oakland Police Department on 4/6/68 wherein Cleaver was arrested and Bobby Hutton, a Co-founder of the BPP and an Oakland Police officer were killed. In connection with the above incident the members of the BPP alleged harassment, threats and mistreatment on part of the Oakland Police Department, City of Oakland, and filed a complaint for denial and deprivation of civil rights by the unlawful and wrongful killing of Bobbie James Hutton filed in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California.

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Enclosed was a petition of Cleaver for Writ of Habeas Corpus in the District Court of Appeals in the State of California, First Appellate District, including the testimony of Cleaver regarding the incident of 4/6/68. On 4/24/68 an indictment was instituted by the Almeda Grand Jury charging Cleaver with attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon and six prior convictions. Cleaver one of eight defendants, was released on bail and arraignment scheduled for 7/30/68. Cleaver was mentioned in testimonies, statements of officers of the Oakland Police Department, and in interviews of individuals relative to this case. An interview of Cleaver on 7/10/68, an affidavit, and his arrest record were also set forth.

(Copies of petition and complaint enclosed)
44-39511-13 p.1,1a,2,13,14,30,63, 66,67,71,75,87,88, 89,96,97,115,137,140, 141,144,145,146,153,154, 155,156 and encl.(name appears on numerous pages)
(2,26,28)

[redacted] reported on 7/16/68 that [redacted] had returned to NYC from the Poor People's Campaign and planned to organize a self-defense group for the Youth International Party (YIP) (100-448910) Festival in Chicago in August, 1968. The informant advised that he further learned that Eldridge Cleaver had asked [redacted] to run as Vice President on the PFP ticket, which would change the YIP Festival into a counter-political convention. Cleaver stated that he would bring the Black Panthers to Chicago and the YIP hoped that this would give them, and particularly [redacted] security force, potential access to the Blackstone Rangers and other gangs in Chicago.

[redacted] advised that at the convention of the PFP held in NYC, on the weekend of 7/21/68, the name [redacted] was suggested as the nominee for Vice Presidential candidate for the PFP, however, he did not receive the nomination. Eldridge Cleaver was nominated as the Presidential candidate.

100-448910-59 p.25
(8)
SI 176-62-17 encl. p.2
(19)

This reference captioned "Cominfil Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)" pertains to an alleged plot during the Democratic National Convention, August, 1968, to assassinate [redacted] of the SCLC and reported head of the BPP, Chicago, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, President SCLC, [redacted] and Eldridge Cleaver. It was reported that a rivalry existed within the SCLC between a faction desiring a more militant philosophy and a faction desiring to continue SCLC's traditional non-violent policy. Further information indicated that the alleged plot was fabricated by [redacted] himself.

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100-438794-2329 p.2
(5)

According to the Office of Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence Army, PDP, the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee (100-445548) would sponsor a rally protesting the war on 8/3/68, NYC, at Times Square. Eldridge Cleaver was invited to address the rally; however, he was unavailable.

100-445548-30
(7)

[redacted] furnished a pamphlet obtained at a Free Huey Newton Rally held 7/20/68 at Eastside Park, San Mateo, California. This pamphlet indicated that an informal dinner was to be held on 7/21/68 at the Buchanan Branch, YMCA, San Francisco, to hear Eldridge Cleaver speak. Cleaver was a possible candidate for the presidency of the US for the PFP. Also listed on the agenda was a notation that [redacted] (105-173280) would speak on his experiences with the Red Guard in China.

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[redacted] advised that a rally was held on 7/25/68 at California Hall, 625 Polk St., San Francisco, which rally was sponsored in behalf of Eldridge Cleaver, the PFP candidate for the presidency of the US. The informant further sated that [redacted] gave a talk and highly endorsed Cleaver.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] was rumored to be seeing BPP members but source could not identity any of them. Source also reported that on 8/3/68 [redacted] spoke on behalf of Cleaver at a PFP Nominating Convention. (Place not given).

105-173280-12 p.3,4,5,7
(13)

This reference captioned "'Free Huey Newton' Rally Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, 8/4/68", set out information that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver reportedly would attend the above rally. Information indicated that Cleaver did not have permission from the California Board of Corrections to perform such travel and did not appear at the rally.

176-938-3
(32)

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[redacted] reported that on 7/31/68 at a meeting of the PFP held at the Church of the Crossroads in Honolulu, Hawaii, it was announced that Eldridge Cleaver, of San Francisco, would arrive in Honolulu on 8/8/68 as a guest of the PFP and would address a public gathering at McKinley High School the same evening. Cleaver would be accompanied by [redacted] Cleaver would also be the keynote speaker at the State Convention of the Party due to open at the McKinley auditorium in Honolulu on 8/10/68.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Hawaii Peace and Freedom Party". (100-450836).

100-450836-X1
(8)

(S)
[redacted]
[redacted] (105-138315-234)

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(S) 105-138315-234-3 p.1
(9)

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This reference captioned "Foreign Influence Black Nationalist Movement" set out information which indicated that a conference entitled International People's Conference against War for Fundamental Social Change, sponsored by a Japanese group called the Beheiren, was held from August 11-13, 1968 at Kyoto International Conference Hall, Japan. During this conference material was distributed which included a schedule of participants to the above conference. Listed from the US was the name of Eldridge Cleaver, Writer, BPPMIO.

157-8141-252 p.2 encl. p.79
(15)

The State Department furnished a list of individuals who had accepted RSVP invitations to the Beheiren International Conference held August 11-14, 1968, in Kyoto, Japan, under the auspices of the Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee (105-148307). Included on the list were the names of Eldridge Cleaver, Writer; BPPMIO and [redacted] There was no record of these individuals having attended.

105-148307-56 encl. p.3
(9)

On 8/17/68 [redacted] (44-40447), [redacted] Michigan, advised that he had not been afforded protection by the Ann Arbor Police and this was a violation of civil rights. He indicated that he had attended a meeting on 8/16/68 at Canterbury House on the campus of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor at which time Eldridge Cleaver, leader of the BPP from San Francisco was the main speaker. During Cleaver's speech, he used considerable profanity and [redacted] asked Cleaver if he wouldn't get more support if he dropped the use of such words. Cleaver cursed [redacted] and was ushered to the exit. [redacted] indicated that a plain clothes police refused to give him assistance, and told him to leave the area. Negro followers of Cleaver arrived at [redacted] motel. [redacted] said his requests for some action to Ann Arbor Police, the sheriff's office, and the State Police were ignored.

44-40447-2
(2)

b6
b7C

The following references on Eldridge Cleaver appear in the file captioned "Cominfil of the Peace and Freedom Party". These references set forth information pertaining to Cleaver in connection with the PFP. Cleaver spoke at a PFP State Convention held in Richmond, California 3/16-18/68. Cleaver was nominated for President of the US at PFP conventions held 8/3/68 and 8/17-18/68 in Richmond, California and Ann Arbor, Michigan respectively.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-447961-38 p.24,27,28,29,31,49,50,54	(7)
-42	(7,27)
-46 encl. p.1,2	(8)
-47 p.1,2	(8)
-56 p.1,3,4,21-23,25	(not indexed)
-57 p.7	(8)
-65	(8)

This reference captioned "Hawaii Peace and Freedom Party" set out information that Eldridge Cleaver had been invited by the PFP of Hawaii to Honolulu to address a public meeting on 8/8/68, at McKinley High School auditorium. Cleaver was also scheduled to be the keynote speaker at the Party's State Convention at Linekona School, Honolulu, on 8/10/68. Honolulu newspapers on 8/8/68 reported that Cleaver had been unable to obtain permission from parole authorities in California to depart the sate and that he would be replaced as a speaker by [redacted] A tape recording from Eldridge Cleaver promised to substitute for his speech in person, but did not arrive. At the final session on 8/11/68 the party discussed the backing of a Presidential candidate at the National Convention August 18-19, 1968, to be held at Ann Arbor, Michigan. It was decided that six of the ten votes would be for Cleaver.

100-450836-1 p.9,11,13-15,20,22-25,28
(8)

[redacted]

b1

(S)

[redacted]

157-10590-X
(17)

b7D

In connection with the Reaction of the Left to the Soviet-Czechoslovakia Crisis (100-446997), the BPP represented by Eldridge Cleaver, the PFP presidential candidate, advised the "San Francisco Examiner", (date not given) that he had prepared a condemnation of the Soviet intervention but decided against delivering it when the Republican candidate for Senator urged anti-war activists to speak out and demonstrate against the Russian action in Czechoslovakia. "I'm not one to speak out in coalition with Rafferty", said Cleaver. "So I don't want to criticize the same people." "What the enemy support, we must oppose - - what the enemy oppose, we must support". ("San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle", Page 6, Section A 8/25/68.)

100-446997-326 encl. p.6,7,9
(7)

The following references in the file captioned "Demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention, August, 1968 (DEMCON)" Chicago, Ill., contain information pertaining to the activities of Eldridge Cleaver in connection with the DEMCON. Cleaver planned to meet with leaders of CORE at the convention to form a coalition between BPP, CORE and PFP. Numerous demonstrations were conducted by various groups on 8/27/68 protesting the war in Vietnam and Chicago Police brutality. Cleaver spoke at one of these demonstrations. Cleaver, Presidential candidate on the PFP ticket requested a member of the Youthful International Party (YIP) to run for Vice-President on the PFP ticket which would change the YIP Festival planned for Chicago in August, 1968 into a counter political convention and indicated he would bring the Black Panthers to Chicago in support of such a convention. Also set forth was data relating to Cleaver's possible activities in Michigan in connection with the DEMCON.

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-8589-260 encl. p.2	(15)
-321 encl. p.4,5	(15)
-471 p.1-3	(15)
-1051	(15)
-1222 p.2	(16)
-1271 encl. p.1-3	(16)
-1358 p.1,2	(16,31)
-1696 encl. p.9,17	(16)

b6
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On 9/19/68 [redacted] (100-451024) advised that he did not participate in activities directly related to the Democratic National Convention until he attended a rally at Grant Park, Chicago, on August 28, 1968. Prior to that time his only political involvement was to spend the day of either August 26 or August 27 in Lincoln Park, Chicago, selling literature, posters and buttons, in support of CIPA candidates. This activity was carried on in conjunction with representatives of the PFP to support Eldridge Cleaver as a national candidate and [redacted] as a local Chicago candidate. [redacted] indicated that it was the view of most CIPA representatives to support the national candidacy of Eldridge Cleaver.

100-451024-1 p.4
(9)

b6
b7C

[redacted] Military Intelligence, 113th Group, Region 4, U.S. Army, New Customs House, Denver, Colorado (protect identity), advised that Bobby Seale (176-48) spoke in Grant Park, Chicago on 8/28/68. Seal mentioned the incident in Oakland, California of Eldridge Cleaver and six other associates, where one individual was shot and killed by the police. Source stated that Seale used this illustration to show police brutality, and that Seale in his speech was not satisfied with the US present system and wanted to "overthrow" it.

176-48-17 encl. p.2
(18)

The following references on Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the BPP, appear in the file captioned "Peace and Freedom Party", self-described as a "radical political party". These references pertain to the activities of Cleaver during the period June-September, 1968, in NYC, Nebraska, Michigan and California. The PFP endorsed Cleaver as a candidate for President of the US for the November, 1968 election. He was also supported by other radical groups such as the Citizens For New Politics. As a PFP candidate Cleaver spoke at National Conventions and rallies of the PFP. In some of his speeches Cleaver attacked President Johnson, the FBI and other heads of government agencies. It was also indicated that speeches made by Cleaver were extremely obscene and advocated violence.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
62-112423-1 encl. p.3,5-10	(3)
-23 p.1,2	(3)
-24	(4,21)
-30 encl. p.2,6,10,11,13 (Criticism of the FBI and other heads of government)	(4)
-35 encl. p.1	(4)
-36 encl. p.1,5,6 (Criticized President Johnson and other heads of government)	(4)
-47	(4)
-55 p.1,6,7,9,12	(4)

b2
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b7C
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[redacted] advised that the San Mateo County Black Action Council (SMCBAC) was sponsoring a Black Action Conference to be held at the Kavanaugh School, 2450 Ralmar Avenue, and the Green Oaks School, Pulgas and O' Connor Avenues, both East Palo Alto, California, August 31, 1968-9/2/68. Source advised that there was some indication that SMCBAC was considering Eldridge Cleaver, MIO, BPP and [redacted] also of the BPP as possible speakers.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Black Power" (62-111166).

62-111166-233 encl. p.4
(3)

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The publication "Ramparts" dated 9/7/68 contained an article captioned "Apologia". This article set out information pertaining to Eldridge Cleaver, Senior Editor of "Ramparts" and Presidential nominee of the PFP's of California and New York concerning his battle with the California Parole Board. Cleaver was denied permission to travel outside the state on assignment for "Ramparts" to cover the Republican Convention in Miami. This magazine protested the parole board's action and was awaiting a reply from the board on Cleaver's request to go to the Chicago Convention, to which he had been assigned by Ramparts". This article was signed by W.H.

See: Publications
"Ramparts" 9/7/68 p.4,60
(2)

[redacted]

The "Berkeley Daily Gazette", a daily Berkeley newspaper, dated 9/10/68 contained an article entitled "Demonstrations Set on Huey, City's Civil Disaster Measure" by Fred Wyatt, Gazette Staff Writer. This article indicated that demonstrations starting on 9/11/68 for Huey P. Newton would be held by a coalition of the Young Socialist Alliance and other groups and supported by the Black Panthers. Jack Bloom of the Independent Socialist Club, said that Newton was not guilty as charged but was made a "political prisoner" by what he termed the same forces" that murdered Bobby Hutton and attempted to get Eldridge Cleaver and silence the Black Panthers.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Civil Disturbances, Berkeley, California, August 30 through September 2".

100-450913-13 encl. p.3,10
(9)

On 9/23/68 Chief of Police John Tuffy, Albany, NY, Police Department, advised that a local newspaper on 9/11/68 printed a list of several hundred names and addresses of individuals who had signed a petition for George Wallace for President. On 9/14/68 his Department obtained a copy of a letter dated 9/13/68 with the heading "Albany Chapter Black Panthers Unity Through Diversity Committee 9/13/68"to [redacted] N.Y., a signer of the above petition. This letter threatened [redacted] if he supported Wallace. One of the signers of this letter was Eldridge Cleaver.

9-0-14948
(2)

On 9/8/68 an article appeared in the "Minneapolis Tribune", a newspaper published in Minneapolis, Minn. This article indicated that a conference entitled "Which Way Black America", sponsored by the Black Coalition of Minneapolis, Minnesota, September 13-15, 1968 (157-10565) would be held at 1349 Penn Avenue, North, Minneapolis. This article pointed out that several leaders in the civil rights movement, including Eldridge Cleaver, acting Chairman of the BPP, would address this conference.

157-10565-1 encl. p.1
(17)

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[redacted] (protect identity) reported that a meeting on 9/21/68 was held at the International Service Building on the American University (AU), Washington, D.C., to form the newly designated "University and Revolution" course. [redacted] at AU delivered opening remarks and following the meeting [redacted] advised of a group of speakers for the upcoming year, which included Eldridge Cleaver.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Student Agitation, Washington, D.C." (62-112228)

62-112228-53-31 encl. p.1,2
(3)

The following references in the file captioned "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee", contain information pertaining to the activities of Eldridge Cleaver during the period March, 1967-9/17/68, in connection with SNCC. Cleaver spoke at SNCC meetings in the California area and at a "Free Huey Newton Rally" to raise funds for the defense of Newton under indictment for the murder of an Oakland Policeman. He participated at the National Convention of SNCC in Nashville, Tenn. in March, 1967 and reportedly attended a closed SNCC meeting in Brooklyn, N.Y. in late July, 1968. Cleaver was scheduled to visit Austin, Texas on September 21 and 22 in connection with a BPP conference and to speak at a SNCC meeting. Thereafter he reportedly was to travel to Houston. As of 9/17/68 Cleaver had not requested permission from the San Francisco Parole Board to travel to Austin.

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REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-439190-1101 encl. p.12	(5)
100-439190-10-41 p.2	(5)
-44 encl. p.1,5	(5)
-13-8	(5)
-19-77	(5)
-26-39 encl. p.3	(5,23)
-36	(6)
-45-7 encl. p.4,5	(6)
-47-25 encl. p.1a,2,12,24,25,31,35,36	(6)

The following references on Eldridge Cleaver appear in the file captioned "University of California, Berkeley. (UCB)" These references relate to the decision on 9/24/68 by the Board of Regents of UCB to limit guest lectures on campus. This decision precipitated by announcement of Eldridge Cleaver, BPP Leader and Presidential candidate for PFP to give ten lectures on campus. Demands were made by the public on Board of Regents and the Governor to cancel Cleaver's appearances. Cleaver was scheduled under the new program entitled "Center for Participant Education (CPF)", a student-led program with Faculty Advisors disigned to permit more student participation in course selection for fall, 1968. CPE was offering sixteen experimental courses, one of which entailed the Cleaver lectures.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-151646-246	(4)
-251	(4)
-254	(5)

The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" contain information pertaining to the civil rights activities of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the BPP, during the period July, 1967-October, 1968, in California, NYC, and Washington, D.C., and reportedly in Seattle, Washington, prior to 7/27/67. During speeches and rallies Cleaver criticized the US policy in Vietnam, advocated violence, and made inflammatory and obscene remarks. Information was set out concerning his association with the BPP and PFP, contacts with civil rights leaders, militant Negro groups and SNCC

(continued)

b7D

(continued)

officials. Cleaver was a PFP candidate in the 1968 Presidential election, and also held a press conference at the UN in an attempt to have the UN recognize the BPP. He was a staff writer for "Ramparts" magazine, and was the author of the book entitled "Soul on ICE". Cleaver was reportedly a member of NOI.

Included was information concerning Cleaver's arrests on charges of narcotics and assault. He was on probation until 1971 and was denied the right of leaving the San Francisco area.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-6-1618 p.2	(30)
-1629 p.1,2	(30)
157-6-34-2498 encl. p.4	(13)
-2735 encl. p.5,9	(13)
-38-294	(30)
-40-202	(30)
-210 p.2	(30)
-218 encl. p.1,11,12,24	(14,30)
-46-475 p.2, encl. p.2-6	(14)
-491 encl. p.2,3	(14)
-47-991 encl. p.73	(14,30)
-1045	(14,30)
-1047	(31)
-1161 encl. p.20	(31)
-1175 p.1, encl. p.5	(14,31)
-1192 encl. p.6,7,8	(14)
-1211	(14)
-1214	(14)
-1283 encl. p.2,3,6	(14)
50-510 p.2	(31)
-513 p.2	(14,31)
-517 encl. p.2	(15,31)
-522 encl. p.1	(31)

[redacted] (protect identity) reported that on 10/3/68 a benefit rally would be held in the Senate Theatre, 3128 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Scheduled speakers included Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby George Seale (176-48), Chairman of the BPP, Oakland, California. The fund raising affair would be held in honor of Huey Newton, the convicted leader of the BPP.

176-48-27 encl. p.1,5
(18)

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b7D

[redacted] (protect identity), made available on 10/3/68 a leaflet entitled "Congress of Black Writers" written in English and French. This leaflet related that the Congress of Black Writers McGill University Montreal, Canada October 11-13, 1968, (157-10743) was to be held at the Students Union and Leacock Building, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. Eldridge Cleaver was listed on the Program as a participant at the above Congress on The Black Revolution: The Third World and Capitalism.

157-10743-17 encl. p.3,4
(17)

By letter dated 10/14/68 the Seattle Office advised that a review of the activities of the PFP of Washington had failed to establish any pertinent information which would indicate Revolutionary Union (RU) (105-184369) interest in this organization. It was noted, however, that the local PFP had invited Eldridge Cleaver to attend the PFP Nominating Convention which was held in Seattle on 9/17/68. Shortly before the convention, Cleaver advised that a disagreement had arisen between himself and certain PFP Representatives in California and that he would be unable to appear in Seattle. He indicated that he would return the check provided for his traveling expenses.

105-184369-13
(13)

Correlator's note: Further review disclosed that the RU had been extremely active in seeking PFP presidential candidacy for Eldridge Cleaver.

The following references in the file captioned "Demonstrations Protesting U.S. Intervention in Vietnam" contain information pertaining to the activities of Eldridge Cleaver in connection with the above matters during the period February, 1967-8/14/68 in California. Cleaver was an elected member of the Spring Mobilization Committee to end the War in Vietnam which was a sponsor of demonstrations protesting the US intervention in Vietnam. He spoke at rallies and meetings against the Vietnam War. Also set forth was information indicating that Cleaver was scheduled to speak in Honolulu on 8/8/68 and at a Teach-In at the University of Washington in Seattle, October 10th through 16th, 1968.

The arrest record of Cleaver was also set out.

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-138315-5136 encl. p.6	(9)
-5992 p.52,65,66	(9,29)
-7164 p.14,33	(9)
-9800 p.1, encl. p.1,5,6	(9)
105-138315-18-35	(9)

The following references in the file captioned "Black Panther Party" contain information pertaining to the activities of LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the BPP, during the period 1967-10/24/68 in numerous cities in California, in NYC and Omaha, Nebraska. Cleaver participated in BPP meetings, and affairs; staff writer for "Ramparts"; author of the book "Soul on Ice" and candidate for President on the PFP ticket of which he was a member of the Steering Committee.

He held meetings with SNCC leaders and he reported that the BPP and SNCC had merged. Cleaver and other BPP leaders were avid readers of revolutionary type writings and Cleaver was obsessed with the idea he must promote a revolution. He had indicated that he would not hesitate to sacrifice any member or members of the BPP in the name of the revolution. In his speeches Cleaver made derogatory statements. He was scheduled to speak in Honolulu on 8/8/68 and at the Florida State University on 10/21/68. Details concerning his arrests which dated back to 1958 were also set out.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-165706-1 encl. p.3,4	(10)
-7 encl. p.3,7	(10,29)
-8 encl. p.4	(10)
-9 p.4,5	(10,29)
-16 p.1,2	(10,29)
-22 p.B,18,19,25,32,50	(10)
-44 encl. p.4	(29)
-51 encl. p.1	(29)
-55 p.2,3 encl. p.1,3-5	(10,29)
-74 p.3	(11)
-77 p.4,6,7,16,19,20,21,23,29,39,41-43,46	(11,30)

(continued)

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REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-165706-80 p.1 encl. p.1,4,8,12,13, 17,20,25,26	(11)
-92 p.1-3 encl. 2,4,10,14-18, 22,28	(11)
-107 encl. p.2,5	(11)
-129 encl. p.1,4	(11)
-141	(30)
-277 encl. p.1,2	(12)
-329 encl p.1,4,5	(12)
-331	(21)
-337 encl. p.6	(22)
-390 encl. p.1	(12)
-406 p.1 encl. p.1,3,4,11	(12)
-470 encl. p.4,7,8,9,11-13,16, 19,20,24-27	(12)
-524 encl. p.2,2*	(13)
-598	(13)
-A "San Francisco Examiner" p.1 5/3/67	(27)
-A "San Francisco Chronicle"p.1 5/5/67	(13)
105-165706-18-7 encl. p.1-3,6,7,11,13,18-25	(12)
-31-4	(11)
-34-1	(10)
-2	(10)
-5	(10)
-40 encl. p.1-3	(12)
-42 encl. p.1-4	(11)
-54 encl. p.1,2	(11)
-56 encl. p.2,3	(12)
-61 p.2,3,8,9,19-21,27,28,31	(12)
-116	(13)
-46-2 encl. p.1-3	(11)
-50-7 p.12,37,46	(12)
-63-2 encl. p.1,2	(13)
- -3 p.2 encl. p.1,2	(13)
-67-2	(10)
-6 encl. p.1,4	(11)
-10 encl. p.1	(12)

This reference captioned "Campus Demonstrations", October 21-27,1968, indicated that the 10/24/68 issue of "The Daily Illine", student newspaper of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., quoted Vern Fein, of the PFP as saying that "Eldridge Cleaver definitely is not coming here, to the best of my knowledge". Fein advised that Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Organization, may replace Cleaver, and if Seale came to the University he would speak on October 27.

62-112525-33
(4)

The following references in the file captioned "Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated", 301 Broadway, San Francisco, a left wing publication, contain information pertaining to Eldridge Cleaver, an employee of the magazine during the period March, 1967 - September, 1968. In February, 1968 Cleaver was listed as a Staff Writer and in September, 1968 as a Senior Editor.

Information also set out that Cleaver was on parole 4/8/68, when he became involved with BPP members in a shoot out in West Oakland. His trial date was set for 11/17/68 on the charges of assassination with the intent to commit murder. Cleaver was the author of a book entitled "Soul on Ice" and a guest lecturer on college campuses on racial violence.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-445393-27 encl. p.4	(6)
-88 encl. p.4	(6)
-109 p.62	(6)
-140 p.21,27	(6,26,29)

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following reference on Eldridge Cleaver located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, was not reviewed, and it was not known whether it is identical with the subject of this summary:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-448006-325	~~(8)~~

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67) SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	SAN FRANCISCO	7/30/69	6/16/68-7/15/69

TITLE OF CASE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLYER 447

REPORT MADE BY [redacted]

TYPED BY bja

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/28/68 at San Francisco.

-C-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

This report is the annual Racial Matters report and does not include results of any investigation or efforts to locate and apprehend Subject. Such investigation is being reported in fugitive reports under San Francisco file 88-12329.

The Agent who attended the Iona College speech by the Subject was SA [redacted] The speeches mentioned and in some cases quoted from in this report which were made by Subject have all been previously provided to the Bureau by LHM and, therefore, are not again reported in their entirety.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED none						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-447251-685 REC-51

13 1969 EX-117

COPIES MADE:
8 - Bureau (100-447251) (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3 & 5C) (RM)
4 - San Francisco
(3 - 100-55520)
(1 - 88-12329)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1, 6)
DATE 09-29-2008

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ~~[illegible]~~, SEC. SERV., State CIA		
Request Recd.	DEPT: ISD, ~~[illegible]~~ IDTU, CR		
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW: R/S		
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 8/12/69		
By	BY:		

Notations

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1-804

Racial

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Detailed information concerning [redacted] has been reported in the fugitive report on the Subject and is not again being set forth in this report.

The Subject's presence in Havana, Cuba was established by the State Department through [redacted] (S) b1

This report is classified CONFIDENTIAL to protect the identity of SF T-1 through SF T-34, confidential sources, the disclosure of which could result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-1 is [redacted]	100-55520-309
SF T-2 is [redacted]	100-55520-315
SF T-3 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-4 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-5 is [redacted]	100-55520-414
SF T-6 is [redacted]	100-55520-415
SF T-7 is [redacted]	100-55520-358
SF T-8 is [redacted]	100-55520-379
SF T-9 is [redacted]	[redacted]

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SF 100-55520
FL/bja

INFORMANTS: (Continued)

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-10 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-11 is [redacted]	100-55520-676
SF T-12 is [redacted]	100-55520-839
SF T-13 is [redacted]	100-55520-861
SF T-14 is [redacted] informant	100-55520-1181
SF T-15 is [redacted]	100-55520-344
SF T-16 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-17 is [redacted]	
SF T-18 is [redacted]	
SF T-19 is [redacted]	100-55520-382
SF T-20 is [redacted]	100-55520-456,721
SF T-21 is [redacted]	100-55520-378
SF T-22 is [redacted]	100-55520-525

SF 100-55520
FL/bja

INFORMANTS: (Continued)

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-23 is [redacted]	100-55520-1097
SF T-24 is [redacted]	100-55520-701
SF T-25 is [redacted] (5)	100-55520-699
SF T-26 is [redacted]	100-55520-779
SF T-27 is Legat, Mexico	100-55520-597
SF T-28 is [redacted]	100-55520-595
SF T-29 is [redacted]	100-55520-599
SF T-30 is [redacted]	100-55520-896
SF T-31 is [redacted]	100-55520-711
SF T-32 is [redacted]	100-55520-851
SF T-33 is [redacted]	100-55520-416

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SF 100-55520
FL/bja

INFORMANTS: (Continued)

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-34 is [redacted]	100-55520-897

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FD-376 (Rev. 11-12-65)

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

July 30, 1969

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

   (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:
   (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
   (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1) (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

~~SECRET~~

Enclosure(s) (1) (RM) *(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)*

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 03-24-2006

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3 & 5C) (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: San Francisco
Date: 7/30/69

Field Office File #: 100-55520 Bureau File #: 100-447251

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
IO #4239
WANTED FLYER 447

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON

Synopsis:

The subject is a Fugitive from Justice, an authorized complaint filed before the U.S. Commissioner in San Francisco, California, on 10/10/68 for violation of Title 18, Section 1073 of the U.S. Code, (Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement - Parole Violator). He continues to be publicly identified as Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and is listed as "editor" in BPP newspaper. He reportedly is again on "Ramparts'". payroll as International Editor of that magazine. For the most part his activities during the latter part of 1968 were public appearances in connection with his presidential candidacy, guest lectures, and BPP sponsored rallies or meetings. Dates and places of his speaking engagements are set out as are some quotations. SUBJECT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

Subject is a Federal fugitive. His whereabouts have been established by another government agency as being out of the United States. He is not known to be employed at the present time. He is last known to be employed as Senior Editor for "Ramparts" magazine and was so employed until his disappearance from public view in November, 1968.

> "Ramparts" is a sensationalist type muck-racking magazine published monthly in San Francisco.

The "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco, California newspaper, issue of July 17, 1969, contains an article by HERB CAEN which states that the Subject was then staying at the Aletti Hotel in room 105 in Algiers, Algeria, telephone number 635-040.

In another HERB CAEN article appearing in the "San Francisco Chronicle" issue of July 18, 1969, CAEN reported that the Subject was back on the Ramparts' payroll as International Editor.

B. Arrest Record

The following reflects the Subject's arrest record as maintained in the Identification Division of the FBI:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

6-23-69 98 KJC

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #LA 227 400 C	November 3, 1957 November 4, 1957	suspicion assault with intent to murder violation State Parole	State Prison concurrent concurrent with unexpired parol time, Count 6, 7 Not Guilty "D44" March 11, 1958 "Cs 196660 Fine guilty assault with a deadly weapon/ intent murder (Count 2 3) Fou Guilty assault with a deadly weapon (Count 4 5 8.)
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver #B-245360/ B-515769	November 6, 1957	assault with intent to commit murder assault with intent to commit rape (2 counts) and assault with a deadly weapon (2 counts)	released to custody of California Institution for Men Chino California
State Bureau Sacramento California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #A-29498-A	March 20, 1958	Parole Violator (assault with intent to commit murder 4 counts and assault with a deadly weapon with prior felony conviction pled and proven each count, all concurrent and concurrent with present term)	6 months to 14 years 4 counts and 6 months t 10 years all concurrent and concurrent wit present term December 12, 1966 paroled

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Sacramento California	Eldridge Cleaver #S-14017	May 2, 1967	182.1 Penal Code Black Panther	released per District Attorney no complaint Enroute [illegible] California State Parole released from custody both on May 3, 1967.
Police Department Oakland California	Elridge Cleaver #200160	April 7, 1968	3 counts 187 Penal Code (attempted murder)	4-25-68 [illegible] Discharged
California State Bureau	Leroy E. Cleaver #A29498A Residence: Vacaville, California	April 7, 1968	Parole Violator	To finish term
Sheriff's Office Oakland California	Eldridge Cleaver #68-4065 Business Address: San Francisco, California	April 10, 1968	217 Penal Code 3 counts and prior (assault with intent to kill)	dismissed and turned over to 68-4563
Sheriff's Office Oakland California	Elridge Cleaver #68/4563 Business Address: San Francisco, California	April 25, 1968	attempted 187 Penal Code 2 counts and 245B Penal Code 2 counts	

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

6-23-69 98 KT

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Sheriff's Office Fairfield California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #68975	June 12, 1968	3 counts 187 Murder Warrant 3 counts 245b Penal Code assault with deadly weapon warrant	
	Residence: 850 Oak Street		San Francisco California	

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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II. CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) appears in the appendix.

A. Positions Held

Subject was publicly identified as Minister of Information of the BPP in early 1968 and continues to be so identified in spite of the fact that he is a fugitive from justice and is reportedly out of the country. The "Black Panther", official newspaper of the BPP, in its June 21, 1969 issue, continues to list Subject as Editor and Minister of Information of the BPP.

III. BPP ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING RALLIES, MEETINGS, AND FUND-RAISINGS

Subject spoke at a BPP meeting on June 13, 1968 at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland, California.

SF T-1, 6/26/68
SF T-2, 6/26/68

On July 14, 1968, [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, advised that the Subject spoke at a free HUEY picnic and rally held at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, on that date.

The rally was sponsored by the BPP and was for the purpose of protesting the then pending trial of HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP, who was scheduled to appear in the California Superior Court in Oakland, California on July 15, 1968.

HUEY P. NEWTON is Chairman and Co-Founder of the BPP. In above mentioned trial, he was convicted of the manslaughter of an Oakland police officer and is presently in prison.

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Subject's appearance at the above mentioned BPP rally on July 14, 1968 was confirmed by SF T-3 and SF T-4 on July 14 and July 17, 1968, respectively.

SF T-4 advised that at this rally Subject stated that if HUEY P. NEWTON was not set free, no one would survive the resulting war.

On July 20, 1968, Officer [redacted] San Mateo County Police Department, San Mateo, California, advised that Subject spoke at a fund-raising rally held for HUEY P. NEWTON to provide for his legal expenses. The rally was held at Eastside Park in San Mateo on July 20, 1968. [redacted] stated the Subject in his remarks, urged the women to put off or withhold their attention from their male friends in order to urge them to back the BPP in their teachings. He urged those in attendance to obtain guns and implied that guerrilla warfare is the most effective method of combat. He addressed a remark to the San Mateo Chief of Police, whom he stated he understood was in the audience, and in this remark advised the Chief that he had better wake up or they would burn down his town. Subject also stated that there would be mass retaliation if "they burn HUEY".

Subject also made a plea for membership for the BPP.

In connection with the above rally held in San Mateo, California on July 20, 1968, the "Advance Star", a Burlingame, California newspaper, in its July 21, 1968 issue, contained an article regarding the Subject's speech. The article reads in part as follows:

> "Alluding to the Vietnam war, CLEAVER said it is well known that wars lead to other wars, and added 'if they try to move HUEY P. NEWTON into a gas chamber, we are going to start that ... war right here in California.
>
> "'There will be many people dead -- those judges on those benches will not be immune from retaliation.

> We don't think guns are necessary in this world and they wouldn't be necessary if there weren't people (with) evil intent. Let's take intent - let's take those guns away from those pig cops', Cleaver urged."

Subject's appearance at the above mentioned free HUEY rally in San Mateo, California on July 20, 1968 was further confirmed by SF T-5 and SF T-6 on July 20 and July 22, 1968 respectively.

Subject spoke at a BPP meeting held at 1832-7th Street, West Oakland, California, on July 22, 1968.

SF T-7
7/23/68

On July 24, 1968, the Subject visited United Nations (UN) in New York City with other BPP members. A press conference was held and the Subject was the main speaker. During his speech he set forth the aims and objectives of the BPP. Among these aims was included an attempt to have the UN recognize the BPP, thereby allowing a BPP observer for the Negro people participate or attend UN sessions.

SF T-8
7/24/68

An article appearing in the July 28, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" entitled, "Black Panthers To Oppose Powell" related that the BPP was out to break ADAM CLAYTON POWELL's political power in Harlem. The article quoted Subject as stating, "ADAM is a political prostitute and we're going to get rid of him. He isn't militant enough and represents only the black middle class, not the masses."

The article further described the BPP as having been organized for self defense and that its members travel armed. According to the article, CLEAVER stated the organization cannot be described as one promoting violence. "We have no moral qualms about people initiating violence against the pigs", CLEAVER said, "but anything the Panthers do right now will be in self defense."

On August 2, 1968, a meeting sponsored by the Black Student Union (BSU) of the University of Southern California

was held on the campus. Among the speakers was ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, and Senior Editor of "Ramparts" magazine.

CLEAVER spoke of restrictions imposed upon him by his parole agent, indicating that the parole agent had requested him to furnish copies of any speeches and to clear any proposed trips. During his speech in quoting PATRICK HENRY's famous statement, "Give me liberty or give me death", CLEAVER stated, "Give me liberty or I'm going to pick up a gun" and "either we have our security or nobody will because we will tear up America."

SF T-9
8/28/68

The Subject attended a BPP rally at De Fremery Park in Oakland, California on August 25, 1968. He spoke to the crowd of approximately 2,000 people and introduced STOKELY CARMICHAEL who also spoke at the rally.

SF T-4
8/26/68
SF T-3
8/30/68

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was introduced as Prime Minister of the BPP. He is former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

A characterication of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

The BSU is a militant black nationalist student organization established on numerous college campuses throughout the country.

The Subject was the principal speaker at a benefit rally held for HUEY P. NEWTON at Mt. Morris Park in New York

City on October 12, 1968. The Subject's speech consisted of four letter epithets and in closing, he admonished all black people who wish alternatives to the present conditions to join the BPP.

SF T-10
10/14/68

A rally featuring the Subject as principal speaker was held on October 13, 1968 at Intermediate School in Brooklyn, New York. The Subject devoted a substantial portion of his speech to school dispute involving the United Federation of Teachers, the City Board of Education and the Ocean-Hill-Brownsville School District. In his speech he stated that ALBERT SHANKER, President of the United Federation of Teachers, should be kept out of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District by any means necessary. He further stated that if the black community did not cross the SHANKER picket line and take control of the school, a black army would spring up and shoot their way into the school. He said he did not suggest that the Negroes take vigilante action action by going into the white neighborhoods and shooting indiscriminately. He said that he meant that cohesive forces of the black man and his community should be channeled to protect young Negro boys and girls from abuse by white cops. On the question of whether or not the BPP had guns, the Subject stated affirmatively that they do have guns and he would like very much to get his hands on a hydrogen bomb and in that way he would be sure to get a fair share of everything due him. Subject said he would receive any gun that anyone wishes to give him and that he is getting ready for a showdown.

SF T-11
10/15/68

The Subject was the major speaker at a BPP sponsored barbeque and rally held at South Park in Los Angeles, California on November 3, 1968. In his speech CLEAVER spoke out strongly against all presidential candidates. His remarks were filled with many obscenities and foul references. In his vilifying remarks, he also attacked a senatorial candidate running for office in California, the police and

public officials in general.

SF T-12
11/3/68

The BPP held a national retreat during November 16, 17 and 18, 1968 for BPP leaders throughout the United States. BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, both spoke at an initial conference on November 16, 1968. In his remarks, CLEAVER spoke of raising money to support the black neighborhoods which would in turn aid members of the BPP in times of need. He also stated that money raised would be used to buy guns and ammunition. He also spoke of obtaining signatures for petitions to aid him in his current problems in court.

SF T-13
November, 1968

A film entitled, "The Black Panthers" was prepared by San Francisco Newsreel at the request of the BPP. A portion of this film concerns the Subject and remarks made by him. Subject's statement contained in the film is as follows:

"When we first started (BPP) we had a police and led (phonetic) patrol and we would patrol the community. If we saw the police brutalize anyone we put an end to this. Usually the police didn't brutalize anyone if we were on hand because we are armed and if the police arrested the original we were following to the jail and bailed this individual out, Whether he has a past or not. We would gain many recruits like this so, therefore, the community started to say these people are really concerned about our welfare . . . The focus of all our activity, HUEY P. NEWTON and the need and the demand that he be set free. Because we feel that this is the only way that HUEY could really be taken out of the hands of those who are relentlessly trying to kill him, you see. It's for the people to become aware of what this thing is all about. This is why I like this idea, this idea of our film because people will get to know about them. They can see things you know. If the people have to stand up and demand they have to understand that they have a right, they have a

right to demand that these judicial procedures be carried out in the right manner."

SF T-14

The San Francisco Newsreel is a radical film-making group with headquarters at 28 West 31st Street in New York. It was founded in 1968 and was set up to film news items and actual films for radical and anti-war activists.

IV. APPEARANCES IN CONNECTION WITH THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY

The Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) was a legally constituted political party in California and New York among other states during the 1968 election year.

The New York Peace and Freedom Party held a pre-petition drive conference and nominating convention at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City on June 20 and June 21, 1968. There were approximately 188 delegates present. This convention nominated ELDRIDGE CLEAVER for president on 125 votes cast for him. The platform adopted at this same convention reads in part as follows:

"The Peace and Freedom Party repudiates American imperialism and calls for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of American troops and military bases from Vietnam by land and all other foreign nations ... The immediate cessation of economic and military aid to America's reactionary 'allies' . An end to the Selective Service System which forces our youth to carry out American military intervention abroad ... An end to occupation of ghettos by police forces carrying out the oppressive mandates of the power structure ... The immediate freeing of all black and Spanish speaking political prisoners and an end to harrassment of such leaders as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, HUEY NEWTON, RAP BROWN and the Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles.

SF T-15
7/21/68

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RAP BROWN is former chairman of the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Subject delivered a speech in connection with his candidacy for president of the United States at the Buchanan YMCA in San Francisco, California on July 21, 1968. In his speech he called for dismantling the "war machine" withdrawing U.S. troops from countries throughout the world, rent control and gun control for police, among other things.

SF T-16
7/22/68

SF T-17 also confirmed Subject's appearance at the PFP sponsored meeting at the Buchanan YMCA on July 21, 1969, and added that CLEAVER in his speech stated that he did not know what he would do with FBI Director, J. EDGAR HOOVER, because the jail was too good for him and many others in Washington. Subject also stated that if he was to become president he would let out all prisoners from the jails and blow up all the jails in the country. He stated that if he were elected president, he would make this a new country by freeing black people and that he would stop the war in Vietnam and let the people of Vietnam decide for themselves the way they want to live.

The Subject spoke at a campaign rally sponsored by the PFP at California Hall in San Francisco, California on July 25, 1968. His speech dealt with changes he would make if he were successful in running for the office of president. He stated that he would change the police system and the white power structure to free all black prisoners, blow up jails and correctional institutions and give the South Vietnamese people the power of self-determination. He stated that he would also seek a non-governing organization status from the United Nations, which status he said is granted to non-governing organizations in colonialized countries.

SF T-18
8/7/68

On July 27, 1968, the Subject appeared as a speaker

at Central Technical High School in Syracuse, New York, as PFP presidential candidate. He called for a widening of the coalition between the BPP and the PFP. He denounced police in vehement and obscene language. The majority of his speech was directed to efforts of the BPP and its supporters to achieve the release of HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP.

SF T-19
7/27/68

The Subject appeared and spoke at San Diego State College in San Diego, California on July 29, 1968 in connection with his candidacy for president. He spoke on how the black community must arm itself and predicted a war between the black and whites in the U.S. He continually referred to the white power structure as pigs and to anyone having command or authority over Negroes as being pigs including police officers, city administrators, and the average white man on the streets. He stated that he feels the PFP and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) are friends in their common movement. In a question and answer session following his speech, the Subject stated that HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP, must be freed from jail. In answer to a question from the audience, "by any means possible?", Subject answered, "yes", and at this time he reiterated that in the event that NEWTON is sentenced to die, he would be removed from jail by force.

SF T-20
July, 1968

A characterization of SDS is contained in the appendix.

The Subject appeared for an interview with Station KFMB, Channel 8 TV with HOWARD KEEN, and this interview taped on or about July 29, 1968, is in part as follows:

Mr. KEEN: Do you have any faith in the American trial system?

CLEAVER: No I don't have any faith in the American

trial system as constituted. Some of the principles of the jury system of this country I could accept as being valid, but we have to deal with racism involved in the whole judicial process so that it becomes a little more complicated.

Mr. KEEN: What are the Black Panthers advocating in that connection? (establishing a plebiscite).

CLEAVER: The Black Panther Party advocates a UN supervised plebiscite. We feel that it would be our responsibility to create conditions where such a plebiscite could be held. For that reason we went to the UN recently and discussed this problem among others with friendly members of the UN. One of the other very important things that we want to have UN observer teams stationed throughout the large cities and some of the rural areas of this country to observe the aggression of the racist police departments against the black communities. Because we feel that the situation in this country constitutes a threat to world peace. Because it's very likely that a civil war or a race war could develop in this country and I feel that we are on the brink of that and it seems to me that the power structure wants that because they are certainly doing everything to provoke it.

Mr. KEEN: What do Black Panthers stand for in that connection? (advising their people to get guns and advocating a violent revolution).

CLEAVER: Well we certainly do advocate self defense for black people. We urge every black family to have in his house guns and we tell them the most effective type of guns, both guns, rifles, pistols of particular caliber that they can use to defend themselves and also to arm the black community because we feel that the racist power structure is going to continue to keep this occupying army of police in the community to continue to assault the community and bully the black community and that the only way that we're going to be able to deal with the situation is to arm the black community to such an extent that the difference between 20 million unarmed black people and 20 million armed black people could be used to force the power structure to grant black people their desires and needs or we'll be able to face the political consequences.

The Subject appeared and spoke at a political rally for him at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles on August 2, 1968. During his speech Subject stated that people were nosing around the BPP headquarters on Central Street and that if it did not stop there would be blood on Central Street. He also stated that he did not advocate violence but that if HUEY P. NEWTON was not freed, the Black Panthers would get their guns. He stated that this was not advocating violence but only protecting NEWTON. The foregoing are the only violent statements noted to have been made by Subject during his talk.

SF T-9
8/5/68

An article appeared in the August 5, 1968 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", daily newspaper, captioned, "Peace - Freedom Convention Vote", and reads in part as follows:

"ELDRIDGE CLEAVER won the state Peace and Freedom Party's national convention delegation Saturday in balloting for the presidential nomination.

"CLEAVER won 44 or 61.8 % of the State delegation's 71 members. This balloting occurred jointly in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

"CLEAVER said he wanted to see a Peace and Freedom Party and a Black Panther convention. 'I think the salvation of this country depends on everyone coming out of their bags and building a union that can successfully cope with the power structure', he said."

On August 5, 1968, SF T-21 confirmed CLEAVER's winning the PFP nomination for president on August 3, 1968 in the balloting that took place in San Francisco and Los Angeles, California.

The "News Advertiser", a suburban newspaper of local circulation in the Los Angeles area, dated August 8, 1968, reported that approximately 1500 persons attended an

open convention of the BPP at Elysian Park in Los Angeles, California on August 3, 1968. Each person in attendance was allowed to vote his choice for presidential candidate for the BPP. LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and DICK GREGORY, a nationally known Negro comedian active in the civil rights movement, made speeches at the rally. The voting took place after the speeches and CLEAVER received 626 votes to GREGORY's 496.

The "Open City" newspaper, an avante-garde newspaper with general circulation in the Los Angeles area, dated August 9, 1968, reported excerpts of the speech delivered by CLEAVER at the PFP rally on August 3, 1968. This article reflected that CLEAVER's speech consisted of attacks on the establishment. He also attacked President JOHNSON, Secretary of State DEAN RUSH, the FBI, the CIA, Governor RONALD REAGAN, Los Angeles Mayor SAM YORTY and Los Angeles Chief of Police, THOMAS REDDIN. The article further reflected that CLEAVER made references to the MAO Tse-tung style of revolution and giving of guns to people so they can determine their own destiny. The article further reflected that the Subject gave a warning to the local police agencies to stay away from the BPP headquarters on Central Avenue in Los Angeles or there would be blood on Central Avenue. He stated that the blacks had to decide between being victims of violence or taking their freedom by violence. He stated that blacks had to take their freedom and there was no middle ground.

On August 17, 1968, the PFP held its national convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan at the University of Michigan. Approximately 350 people from 21 states attended. CLEAVER was nominated the PFP presidential candidate and he spoke at the opening session of the convention. He called for the PFP to establish a new politics, that they must take power and in order to do that they must have political machinery. He stated the senate was not enough.

SF T-22
8/20/68

The Subject appeared at a PFP political rally in Omaha, Nebraska on August 24, 1968 where he delivered a speech. The speech was recorded and a copy was provided

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by Sgt. [redacted] of the Omaha Police Department, Omaha, Nebraska. The following are excerpts from Subject's speech:

"It's (racist pig power) not going to be dealt with at the ballot box; it isn't going to be dealt with over cocktails; it isn't going to be dealt with in any way except sock it to the pigs the same way they socked it to us ... So, pigs ... we're going to give you what the law prescribes, we're going to give you what the law of human rights prescribes. For the murder of people you'll receive death. Death inflicted upon you by the people ... They asked us if we receive money from MAO Tse-tung. Send it brother MAO because we need it. Send us money, send us some guns and if you can arrange it, send us one of those hydrogen bombs because these pigs have hydrogen bombs over here and we want to be in a position that if they push their's, we're going to push ours ... You are not going to win pigs because the only victory that you're going to get out of us today is a (unintelligible) victory, because we are going to fight back and we will detonate this country, we will gut your industrial cities and we will create conditions so that enemies can walk in here and pick the gold out of your teeth. We have said that the sky is the limit. If they don't free HUEY P. NEWTON and some people say that's rhetoric, but I'm telling you that it isn't rhetoric and to say, 'well, what's going to happen' -- there's going to be war. There's going to be war over HUEY P. NEWTON if he is not set free because for HUEY NEWTON this is just as extremely important as it is fundamentally important to the black people at this time. HUEY NEWTON represents the right to self defense. We say that every man has the right to defend himself when he is attacked even if it's a racist pig cop who's out to take his life."

The Subject spoke at Pauley Pavilion at the University of California at Los Angeles campus on October 4, 1968. His speech was basically anti-establishment and was interspersed throughout with obscenities. During his speech he led a chant of obscene remarks in reference to Governor RONALD REAGAN.

[redacted]
University of California
Los Angeles Police
10/5/68

SF 100-55520
FL/bja

On the evening of Friday, October 4, 1968, the Subject was a guest speaker at the University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California. In reference to a revolution, Subject stated, "it's coming, just as sure as you're here. Because it has to come, because the capitalistic system can no longer function for the needs of the people of this country on an equitable basis. It cannot serve the needs of the people. It cannot move. Their system cannot move. The wheels cannot turn unless some avaricious businessman can see a profit in his column at the end of a fiscal period so that they are going to have to be ex-appropriated." Subject further stated, "see where all your graduating friends go. Those who go into the CIA get pictures of them and send them to the closest people. Send them around because the next battlefield after Vietnam is right here in Babylon ... We didn't plan it. It just happended that way ... The crying need of America today is for KARL MARX. KARL MARX to be taken out of mothballs and looked at and read. You don't have to be afraid of KARL MARX. He was a smart wildcat. He was very smart ... We're going to have to start talking about our yankee doodle dandy friends of some socialism for America. We are not talking about importing the Russian imperialists or making the American people into a carbon copy of the Chinese. That would be impossible as racist as this country is, but we're talking about taking the problems that turn this country into treachery and seeing what applicability the universal principles of socialism might have to a specific situation."

SF T-20
10/5/68

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER spoke at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, on the evening of October 10, 1968. His appearance was a result of a letter written by the Inter-Fraternity Council to all presidential candidates requesting they speak on the campus. The Subject began speaking with obscene greetings to "pigs of the power structure", and gave a special greeting to his parole officer

whom he said required him to give his itinerary in advance so the "slow dull pigs" in the local area could monitor his speech and send back the results so the parole officer could hear for himself what he had to say. The Subject described presidential candidates WALLACE, NIXON and HUMPHREY as "pigs" and stated one was just as bad as the other. "One can get you killed just as bad as the other and that's all they have to offer to the people of the world, to the people of this country which means that we have a problem." He stated that he believed that a vote for any one of these candidates would be a crime against humanity. He stated that the "avenues of regress have been closed. The pigs of the power structure have unsurped the political machinery of this country. If you don't believe this ask those Mc Carthyites who went to Chicago and got all the fat wiped off their heads trying to support Senator MC CARTHY and trying to exercise their constitutional rights to dissent. Ask them if the political channels are still open ... Some simple reporter asked me out here a while ago if I would fight for this country. I know that was a simple question but he was a reporter, you see, and he asked me would you fight for any other country. I said yes. I said which one? I started to say China and then I thought of Vietnam, brother HO Chi-minh, and then I thought of Cuba, then I just thought about the whole third world and so I told him that I would fight for any country struggling to free itself from imperialism, from colonialism, from the exploitation of this racist, decadent, capitalistic system. Yes, I would fight for them."

SF T-23
10/11/68

The Subject was a featured speaker at Loeb Student Center, New York University, Washington Square, New York City, on the evening of Friday, October 11, 1968. He addressed the audience in a speech replete with obscenities. He characterized NIXON, HUMPHREY and WALLACE as racist and supporters of the killing of Vietnamese people. He stated that he knew he would not win the presidential election, and that that was lucky for a lot of people because if he did win, it would be wise for them to stop him from taking

office because "should I do so, it would be up against the wall for a lot of pigs." He said the United States Government was "a government of pigs by the pigs and for the pigs." He stated that the real white people needed white power to throw these pigs out of the government. He said that all white brothers and sisters should come together with the black, red and yellow brothers and sisters and take over the government with ballots if possible, and if it could not be done with ballots, then there were bullets.

SF T-11
10/14/68

The Subject was a featured speaker at a rally sponsored by the PFP held at Manhattan Center in New York City on October 17, 1968. The Subject used obscenities throughout his speech, criticized the white power structure in the U.S., and characterized all major presidential candidates as pigs. He sharpely criticized President JOHNSON's Vietnam policy and urged all those present to send letters to FIDEL CASTRO and HO Chi-minh to enlist their aid in ending the war.

SF T-24
10/18/68

The Subject spoke at American University in Washington, D.C. on October 8, 1968. His appearance was sponsored by the "University and Revolution" Council at American University under the direction of the School of International Service. He started his speech by saying, "I want to say that I'm very glad to be here, particularly because this is the capital of the United States of America, the pig pen of Babylon. I would like to come here in a Sherman tank. This is the place where mass murder is plotted against the people for simple-minded (obscene) like LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, RICHARD NIXON, and all those other political freaks inact their plots against the people."

Following are other quotes extracted from a transcript of his speech:

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"You won't find that but you find instances where we defend ourselves against these pigs who come into our community like an occupying army who are there to protect the interest of these businessmen, there to keep black people suppressed and contained. Yeah, we repudiate them, we want them out of our community and we're going to get them out if we have to drive them out with guns because they're there with guns. Black people have lived under the gun every minute that they have been here and we want an end to that and the only way we see to bring them into that is to get their guns out of our community and we think we have a right to do that ... You realize that we have mad men with their fingers on buttons that could destroy the world if they're pushed, and I don't know any reason for believing that a fool like JOHNSON or NIXON or WALLACE will not take that step thinking that they are slick-thinking that they will get away. I believe that the situation is too dangerous and the only hope of this country, the only hope of this world, is for the people to get together and change this system as they have a right to do."

SF T-25
10/18/68

Subject spoke at Howard University in Washington, D.C. on October 18, 1968. This speech was sponsored by the Project Awareness Committee, the university recognized student discussion program at Howard. The following are excerpts from the speech delivered by him:

"You got self rule here, huh? Yeah. Self rule administered indirectly to some bootlickers and racist pigs and congress to preside over a committee that controls your lives, controls everything here. Well, they do that everywhere. That ain't no big thing here because just as in Washington, we have the same problem everywhere. But what they don't know is that we're qualified to deal with it, we have the will, we have the soul, and we know what we

need to deal with that. We need guns and force and organized guns and force. We are not afraid to use our guns. We brag about them in public because we got them. We have used them before and we'll use them again. What we've got to do here is to get yours together and talk about how many niggers got killed here in Washington, D.C. How many white racist pig cops have you lost? . . . Talk about a Boston Tea Party, we're going to have the Sierra Maestra right here in the streets of Babylon. That's what we're going to have to have ... We need some socialism in this country and the capitalistic system needs to be destroyed. It needs to be destroyed. It has to be destroyed because it doesn't serve the needs of all the white people of this country. Capitalism has never served the needs of the majority of the people here in this country.

Intelligence Unit
Metropolitan Police
Department
Washington, D.C.
October, 1968

On November 1, 1968, a pre-election rally was sponsored at Berkeley, California Community Center by the BPP. The Subject was one of the speakers. He claimed to be stoned and asked for and received a "joint", which he lighted while on stage. He asserted that rather than going back to prison as he had been ordered to do on November 27, he would take refuge in the black community and surround himself with guns in order to avoid going back to the penitentiary. He stated that he would kill or have killed anyone that tried to extract him from the black community. In his remarks, he stated that he would kill San Francisco Mayor JOSEPH ALIOTO. (A "joint" is a widely accepted word used for a marijuana cigarette).

SF T-26
11/2/68

V. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLIC APPEARANCES AND/OR STATEMENTS

On July 30, 1968, [redacted] Xerox Corporation Henrietta, New York

Plant, advised that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and [redacted] [redacted] addressed approximately 200 members of the Earn and Learn Program of the Xerox Corporation at the Henrietta Plant on July 26, 1969. [redacted] described the Earn and Learn Program as a Xerox sponsored program designed to assist underprivileged children who are potential school drop-outs in Rochester, New York. The group is comprised of approximately 200 youths, age 16 to 18, both male and female, about 20 of whom are white. According to [redacted], the program was designed to give these youths a clear understanding of the advantages which would be available to them if they would continue their education by remaining in high school and in some cases, going on to college. [redacted] further advised that the Subject's remarks to this group were definitely not in line with the overall intended purpose of the program as designed by Xerox.

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On July 27, 1968, SF T-17 provided a copy of a tape recording of the speech delivered by the Subject before members of the Earn and Learn Program at Xerox Corporation on July 26, 1968. A transcription of this tape was made and reads in part as follows:

"We all come here the same way (from the womb, naked), but we find that at the beginning, we have to deal with a whole lot of stuff that we have organized into poverty and that these rich white boys have been organized into wealth and into power so what we're saying we'd do is we're going to break that up; we're going to step outside the rules of this game; we're going to mess up your summer projects and any other projects that you come up with until our people receive some justice and until they receive justice there ain't going to be no peace and you can lie back and scheme and think that you come up with a brand new game to play on black people, but you're a fool if you think that, you're a liar because we're not going to have it. If necessary, we'll come down here to Xerox and burn it down. We'll blow Xerox up ....

... Only way the black people of this country are going to get what they have to have in order to survive, to

live a good life, is by using the only power we have and that is the power to disrupt this system, the power to destroy it if we don't get it. We _____ gonna organize black people from this big, raggedy, greasy, beastly (word unintelligible) system; We _____ gonna to organize them; we're gonna make sure that they have guns; we're gonna make sure that they know how to make bombs; we're gonna make sure that they know how to get dynamite; we're gonna make sure that they can get anything that's out there to take care of business, and we're gonna tell the pigs in the power structure, give it up (obscene)."

[redacted] of the BPP.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service on August 12, 1968, provided information to the effect that the Cuban newspaper, "El Mundo" on August 10, 1968, contained an interview with the Subject. The text of this interview is in part as follows:

"The U.S. Negro leader ELDRIDGE CLEAVER has stated that his country's Negro population has developed such a degree of revolutionary awareness that it is now ready to confront the oppressors with an armed strike. CLEAVER, who is Information Minister of the Northern American BPP, was interviewed by telephone by the Havana paper "El Mundo". The interview was conducted on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the Negro rebellion in Watts, California.

"After reiterating that armed strike is the sole path for the U.S. Negro population, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER said: 'Black Panther is a revolutionary organization of non-Bourgeois Negroes who have the lowest standard of living. They have developed their political awareness to such a degree that they are now capable of organizing politically and building a revolutionary party, a people's party.' Referring to the organization's leader HUEY P. NEWTON, who was jailed by the authorities, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER declared that NEWTON's life was in danger because he heads the BPP. 'Imperialism", CLEAVER said, 'is so afraid of that man that it will not think twice about shedding his blood.'"

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Sergeant [redacted], East Lansing, Michigan Police Department, advised August 19, 1968, that the Subject spoke to nearly 100 people Saturday afternoon August 17, 1968 at the Cristo Rey Community Center, 1306 Ballard, Lansing, Michigan, in connection with picketing of stores by the Grape Boycott Organizing Committee. The Subject in his speech lashed out at the "pigs" and the "electronic niggers" produced at Michigan State University. According to him, the BPP's platform point 7 of stopping the pigs and in eliminating police brutality is top priority with him because he states that with the police around, none of the other 9 points can be accomplished. He named Michigan State as one of the prime producers of police manpower and police technical knowledge. He accused the black students as being "electronic niggers"produced by Michigan State to appease the black community.

A new experimental college at University of California, Berkeley is the Center for Participant Education (CPE), which expected to enroll 1500 to 2000 students in experimental courses in the fall of 1968. 16 of the courses were to be offered for credit. A heated controversy arose when public announcement was made by faculty and students that the Subject would deliver 10 or 20 scheduled lectures entitled, "Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order (Social Analysis 139X)".

On September 20, 1968, the University of California Board of Regents, including Governor RONALD REAGAN, met at Los Angeles, California. Among other things the Regents passed a motion by University of California President CHARLES J. HITCH which limited guest lectures with university approved credentials to one appearance at any University of California campus. The Regents thus ordered that CLEAVER was limited to one lecture on campus under this new ruling.

The "Berkeley Daily Gazette", a Berkeley, California newspaper, in its September 24, 1968 issue, carried an article captioned, "Students Defy Regents, Plan 10 Cleaver Lectures". This article stated in part that CLEAVER would

give 10 lectures in the controversial course Social Analysis 139X,off campus if necessary, according to announcement by student leaders at University of California at Berkeley.

The controversy continued with CLEAVER delivering at least two lectures at the college for which no credit was given.

The Subject delivered a press release at the Alameda County Jail on August 10, 1968. It was taped and being transported to Cuba by three Black Panthers who were stopped in Mexico. In his release, he made the following statements:

"The great source of strength in our struggle here is the struggle of the oppressed people everywhere. The struggle of Cuban people, guerrillas in Latin America, Asia and Africa is sapping the strength of the imperialist by stretching out the supply lines and grinding away at the morale of the people which has proven their inability to wage these types of wars. They are panicking because they realize when their own slaves pick up guns against them, the show is just about over ... There is no distinction between revolutionary forces in this country and those outside the country. We are all working in harmony.

"In my capacity as Minister of Information of the BPP, I am concerned about connecting our news disseminating apparatus with news disseminating apparatus of revolutionary country so we can have news which hasn't filtered through the hands of imperialistic pigs ... We feel it is an honor to participate in the final destruction of this capitalistic imperialistic system, and for my Cuban brothers and sisters, we are with you and will continue and add other elements to our strength and there is nothing that can stop the revolutionary march of the people for total liberation."

SF T-27
8/20/68

The Subject was a featured speaker on a panel on racism held in the afternoon of September 26, 1968 at Campus Hall, University of California at Irvine, California. The auditorium was filled to capacity with approximately 2000 people. The Subject's statements were provocative and interspersed throughout with filthy and obscene language. He used particularly vulgar terms whenever he referred to President JOHNSON and Governor RONALD REAGAN. During the course of his talk, he issued a challenge to Governor REAGAN to a dual. Referring to a report of the Presidential Committee on racial rioting, the Subject stated that the committee was wrong and was lying when they reported that over one-half of the blacks favor racial integration. He further stated, "The Black Panther Party can use guns. When we get in action we will not use sticks and stones. I say to the brother, get some guns and hide them good. The Black Panthers will have guns. In fact, it is our ambition to even have some hydrogen bombs... They say the Black Panthers are suicidal. We say we can't lose. Lay waste to this country. Cripple this country. Get foreign enemies against this country who will come in and destroy it, then they will pick the gold out of LBJ's teeth."

SF T-28
9/27/68

The Subject spoke at Sacramento State College in a symposium on racism in America on October 2, 1968 before approximately 7000 people who gathered in the football stadium at Sacramento State College. He started his speech by saying he wanted to thank "Mickey Mouse" REAGAN, "big mama" UNRUH, and "Donald Duck" RAFFERTY for allowing him to come to Sacramento, the "pig pen". He called Governor REAGAN a punk, a sissy and a coward and challenged him to death with any weapon REAGAN desired, including a marshmellow. Throughout his speech and with regard to state and government leaders, he used four-letter obscenities. He stated that the bullet which killed MARTIN LUTHER KING ended non-violence. He said that the people are willing to accept authority but that the pigs and power structure mis-used it and that if it were not for the pigs, guns, sticks and mace, the laws could not be enforced. The Subject stated that in the event

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RICHARD NIXON won the presidential election in November, that "it is always reserved to the people to have another Boston Tea Party". He stated that if this implied anarchy, that it was better to have anarchy than a system of oppression.

SF T-29
October, 1968

The Subject spoke at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California on October 1, 1968. The occasion was a public lecture sponsored by Stanford's Committee for New Democratic Politics", a volunteer organization of EUGENE MC CARTHY and ROBERT KENNEDY supporters. The following statements are taken from a transcript of Subject's speech:

"...Black people throughout this country have turned away from the bootlicking leader at ... They are turning to the streets, they are talking about a Boston Tea Party right here in Babylon, right here in California ... They are saying that they have had enough, that we will no longer take it, that you are dreaded up with death, you are dreaded up with genocide so that we see no alternative but to organize ourselves to get into a position to take white people with us if we have to go. We say that if there is going to be massive death for black people, then the best that we can do is to get into a position so that it be massive death for white people. Let us get into a position of ... inhabiting core of the industrial system ... so that if our enemies move against us to destroy us and destruction looms ominously on the horizon for us, let us be in a position to lay waste. Let us be in a position to disrupt the electronic system so that the military machine cannot function so that the enemies of America could come in here and pick the gold out of the teeth of the Babylonians... They say that people get the rulers that they deserve and I be damned if I deserve RONALD REAGAN. I certainly don't deserve MAX RAFFERTY (California State Superintendent of Public Instruction), none of us deserve RICHARD NIXON, see. Do we deserve Mealy Mouse, do we deserve a Mealy Mouse vacilating coward like HUBERT HUMPHREY? And do we deserve GEORGE WALLACE? Well we got them, dig it? Now what you going to do about that? ...

"...You have pigs who have been (obscene) on the constitution and (obscene) in the face of the people and say that they are going to run this thing the way they want to run it whether you like it or not. So in response to that, there can be no adequate response except revolutionary movement that can unite the people who had been ruled out. Unite them, arm them with every tool of every revolution in history, from everything from the pencil and paper to the gun. Because our adversaries have everything from pencil and paper to the gun beyond the gun to hydrogen bombs and we either have to face that, put our heads underground, up in the clouds and avoid that or we are going to have to do something about it ... I know that I don't feel good paying taxes because I recognize that the tax system in this country is nothing but a fund-raising device for the pigs of the power structure and I don't relate to paying for my own destruction. I said I was going to give my taxes to JOAN BAEZ and tell her to do what she wants. ...But my wife _____ said, "No don't do that, give it to the HUEY P. NEWTON defense fund," and that makes sense so I'm going to do that."

SF T-30
November, 1968

A summary of information regarding the BPP appeared in "El Mundo", a Havana, Cuba newspaper,on October 4, 1968. This newspaper operates under the complete control and direction of the Communist Party (CP) of Cuba. In this information appeared an interview with the Subject. It reads in part as follows:

"We still have certain legal ways to escape and that is what we're exploring at the moment. However, once these legal avenues have been exhausted, our only remedy will be to use revolutionary methods. At this time we will have the backing of the people who have remained at our side during this entire process and if the imperialists and the racists refuse us justice, the people will understand our actions and will support them. We have passed the point where it makes sense to call on the courts to respect our rights because there are racists in the courts who refuse us justice and they do this without thinking that the eyes of the world are on them. They are shameless about rejecting

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public opinion. So, we are at the point of abandoning legal methods, i.e., calling on the courts. We feel that legal avenues have just about been exhausted and the movement has come to convert the streets of the U.S. into a Sierra Maestra."

SF T-31
October, 1968

On October 25, 1968, Captain [redacted], Santa Clara Police Department, Santa Clara, California, advised that Subject spoke at Santa Clara University on October 9, 1968, to approximately 2500 individuals. The occasion was a symposium on "Black America: Evolution or Revolution" sponsored by this Catholic University. His speech was very obscene and he used obscenities in attacking presidential candidates RICHARD NIXON, HUBERT HUMPHREY and GEORGE WALLACE.

Subject spoke at the Poetry Center at San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California, on October 9, 1968. He had been originally invited to the Poetry Center to read from his book, "Soul on Ice." The following were remarks extracted from a transcript made of the speech he delivered:

"Our job, the task of our generation, is to see to it that the pigs of the power structure are drug down ... and that the war machine is stopped and that this decrepit corrupt capitalistic system is tossed into the gas chamber, into the garbage cans of history ...

"We have talked about we are going to free HUEY. We says we going to free HUEY and we got to have the spirit that says to the pigs of the power structure that you are going to let HUEY come out of there or we are going to come in there and get him. Right? With guns and you can't stop us and we know you can't stop us because the people of the world are against you and when we move against you, they are going to move against us."

SF T-32
11/6/68

The Subject spoke on the campus of Iona College, North Avenue, New Rochelle, New York, at the invitation of

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a college group called the Uhurhu Society on October 11, 1968. He was scheduled to speak at 4:00 P.M. but did not arrive until 5:00 P.M. and started speaking at 5:20 P.M. He made a few rambling and disjoint remarks, decrying the power structure which controls the lives of people, and stated that the power was in the hands of the "pigs". He pointed out that the BPP stood for principal and did not let anyone drive over them. He stated that it was necessary to correct the situation when avaricious businessmen and demagogic politicians control the lives of the people. He stated that the black people in America will secure their rights and will do so by any means necessary. He urged the formation of a BPP chapter at Iona College and stated that there should also be a group formed by the whites as friends of the BPP. He stated that there are forces trying to build communications between the proper groups, citing the fact that the PFP had nominated him as their candidate. He continued, stating that no one had to submit to oppressions of this system, that no one had to submit to the pigs who are protecting the rights of the avaricious businessmen, demagogic politicians who murder and brutalize the people, and that the strong arm tools of the power structure were the local police.

Special Agent of
the FBI
10/11/68

The Subject spoke at California Hall in San Francisco on November 21, 1968. The occasion was a rally sponsored to collect funds to provide for the Subject's legal defense. During the Subject's speech in recalling his crimes against society, he said that he had paid for them and now the racists wanted to send him back to prison because of his political views. He stated he did not leave anything at San Quentin Prison except some of his mind and some of his soul, and that there was nothing there that he wanted and that anything further that "they" wanted from him now "they" would have to come to take.

SF T-16
12/5/68

VI. MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

On July 24, 1969, [redacted] in New York City, made reservations at the Sheraton-Atlantic for a room for three nights. These reservations were assumed by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER of San Francisco, California and another individual of Los Angeles, California who checked into the hotel on that date. Both the Subject and the other individual departed on the following morning leaving a bill of $451.00, of which $275.00 was for liquor and food.

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SF T-33
July, 1969

[redacted]

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[redacted]

SF T-34
12/2/68

An authorized complaint was filed on December 10, 1968 before United States Commissioner RICHARD S. GOLDSMITH at San Francisco, California, charging the Subject with violation of Title 18, Section 1073, United States Code (Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement - Parole Violation, Assault with Intent to Commit Murder, Assault with Intent to Commit Rape, Assault with a Deadly Weapon). This complaint was filed after the Subject failed to turn himself in to the California Department of Corrections as ordered on November 27, 1968, thereby being in violation of his parole, and after the San Francisco Office of the California Attorney General's Office requested assistance of the FBI in locating and apprehending the Subject whom they had reason to believe had fled the State of California.

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. MICHAEL KLONSKY, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-membership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful, it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. RAP BROWN, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

July 30, 1969

Title	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, IO #4239 WANTED FLYER 447
Character	RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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PLAINTEXT

8/15/69

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URGENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO SAC NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR., FUGITIVE,
IDENTIFICATION ORDER NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE,
WANTED FLYER NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UNLAWFUL FLIGHT
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

UNCONFIRMED REPORTS RECEIVED FROM U. S. DEPARTMENT
OF STATE TODAY THAT SUBJECT PLANS TO ENTER GREECE.
STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED [redacted] TO b7D
TAKE SUBJECT INTO CUSTODY IF LOCATED IN GREECE.
ACCORDING TO STATE DEPARTMENT, [redacted] APPEAR
INCLINED TOWARD IMMEDIATE EXPULSION BY PROVIDING ESCORT
ABOARD NON-STOP FLIGHT TO NEW YORK. REC-3 100-447251-686

ALTHOUGH INFORMATION UNCONFIRMED, NEW YORK SHOULD
BE PREPARED TO COVER INCOMING FLIGHTS FROM GREECE ON
SHORT NOTICE SHOULD CONFIRMATION OF SUBJECT'S EXPULSION
BE RECEIVED BY THE BUREAU.

18 AUG 18 1969

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 18 1969
5-55 PM LRC
ENCIPHERED

2 - SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (MAIL) b6
b7C

NOTE: Information received from [redacted]
State Department, by Fugitive Section Chief A. B. Eddy, on 8/15/69.

AUG 27 1969

JRF:egm
(5)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☑

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: August 15, 1969

FROM : J. H. Gale

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.
FUGITIVE
IDENTIFICATION ORDER #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER

[redacted]

b6
b7C

We have followed the activities of Cleaver through our Legal Attaches and have kept the State Department advised of developments with regard to this fugitive.

Cleaver is the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party whom we are seeking under the Unlawful Flight Statute on a charge of unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement for assault with intent to commit murder. The California authorities requested the Bureau's assistance when it appeared that Cleaver had fled the state. Most recently Cleaver was known to be in Algiers.

[redacted], State Department, telephone number [redacted], telephonically advised that State Department sources had picked up a rumor to the effect Cleaver may go to Greece. He stated that the State Department is working with [redacted] to insure that Cleaver, should he appear in Greece, will be taken into custody and either deported or held for extradition. [redacted] stated that it appeared the [redacted] would order Cleaver deported and might provide a police escort aboard a nonstop flight to New York. [redacted] stated that in the event [redacted] would not provide an escort, but indicated a willingness to deport him, it would be necessary for the United States to provide for Cleaver's return. [redacted] indicated that he did not know how reliable the information was that Cleaver might go to Greece although he thought it was questionable in view of Cleaver's background.

b6
b7C
b7D

EX-111 REC-49 100-447251-6 5 AUG 21 1969

ACTION: This matter will be closely followed, including liaison with the Department of Justice attorney handling extradition matters. It would appear that the proper course would be for the State Department to arrange for [redacted] to provide escorts in the event of deportation. In the event it appears that he will be deported, our field offices will be alerted in order to take him into custody upon the arrival in the United States.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
ABE:djg (8)
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - [redacted]

51 AUG 28 1969

TELETYPE
AUG 19 1969
ENCIPHERED

SECRET

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

STATE 949

URGENT 8-19-69

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT ROME NO. 67

IO#4239
WF#447

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP, UFAC.
OO:SF

REMYCAB AUGUST ONE FIVE LAST.

CONSUL GENERAL, AMERICAN EMBASSY, ATHENS, ADVISED THAT STOPS PLACED BY LEGAT WITH ALIENS DIRECTORATE MISINTERPRETED BY [redacted] HAVE DEVELOPED NO INFORMATION CONCERNING CLEAVER. STOPS REMAIN IN EFFECT. RUC.

b1
b7D
(S)

RECEIVED: 6:01AM REM

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-25-2031

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER DATED 06-13-2006

REC-49 100-447251-688

EX-111

5 AUG 21 1969

b6
b7C

SECRET

RACIAL INT. SECT.

CC. 5 AUG 28 1969
3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 15 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-25-2006 BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

STATE 827

IMMEDIATE 8-15-69

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT ROME NO.66

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP; UFAC.

REROMLET AUGUST FOUR LAST.

AMERICAN EMBASSY, ATHENS RECEIVED REPORT FROM [redacted] THAT CLEAVER MIGHT ARRIVE SALONIKA, GREECE NEAR FUTURE. IT REQUESTED STATE DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING ACTION TO BE TAKEN AGAINST CLEAVER SHOULD HE COME TO GREECE. STATE DEPARTMENT HAS SUGGESTED THAT STEPS BE TAKEN TO EFFECT RETURN OF CLEAVER TO USA EITHER PURSUANT TO DEPORTATION PROCEDURES OR FORMAL EXTRADITION REQUEST.

LEGAT IS IN TELEPHONIC CONTACT WITH [redacted] AND WILL ADVISE BUREAU OF ANY POSITIVE INFO DEVELOPED RE ARRIVAL OF CLEAVER IN GREECE. IN VIEW OF IMPORTANCE THIS MATTER, LEGAT OR ASSISTANT WILL PROCEED TO GREECE IF CLEAVER DOES IN FACT ARRIVE THERE AND WILL EXERT EVERY EFFORT THROUGH SOURCES TO HAVE CLEAVER DEPORTED DIRECTLY TO USA.

b6
b7C
b7D

REC 55 100-447251-689

RECEIVED 1:44 PM VXC

AUG 1969

59 AUG 27 1969

AUG 20 1969

CC- MR. SULLIVAN
3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3,3(1) 11-25-2031

Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Memorandum

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: August 22, 1969

FROM : S. J. Papich

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
104239
WF447
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] (S)

b1

(S)

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Fugitive Section and the Racial Intelligence Section.

b6
b7C

1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore [redacted]
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. S. J. Papich

ST-105

REC-66 100-447851-6

SJP:hls
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

G 27 1969

51 SEP 3 1969

39

SECRET

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 8/29/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : LEGAT, LONDON (157-120)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG.
I.O. 4239; W.F. 447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

Enclosed for Bureau and Legat, Madrid are copies of self-explanatory State Department telegram from the American Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden, setting forth press reports about the possibility of subject coming to Sweden from Algeria. This matter will be followed with Swedish sources.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

3 - Bureau (Encs. 2)
1 - Legat, Madrid (Enc. 2)
1 - Liaison (Direct)
1 - London
ACM:ejg
(6)

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

1cc & 1 enc - SF
9-3-69 JRF xed
0-7
1cc & 1 enc - T's

EX-102 100-447251-672

REC-54

18 SEP 2 1969

FUGITIVE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7C

70 SEP 10 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (~~157-4324~~) DATE: 8/28/69

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (P)

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-25-2031

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
IO 4239; WF 447
RM-BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
Bufile 100-447251
SF 157-4324

[redacted]
RM-BPP
Bufile 157-8943
SF 157-1057

Copy to ST [redacted]
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 1/12/70
by [illegible]
2-Xerox

b2

b6
b7C

Enclosed are nine copies of LHM, captioned as above.

SF T-1 is [redacted] which requested identity be concealed (SF 157-4324-10). LHM is classified "confidential" to protect this source.

b1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

1LHM-804
AGENCY: ACSI, ~~MID~~, OSI, SEC. ~~SERV.~~
DEPT: ISD, ~~CRD, PAO~~ EDCU-CD
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW 9/9/69
BY: [illegible]

4 - Bureau (RM)
4 - San Francisco
LSB/rlg
(8)

REC. 28

100-447251-694

EX 106 SEP 5 1969

SECRET

SEP 11 1969

FUGITIVE
RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-8943-32

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-103-01

56 SEP 17 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

August 28, 1969

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-09-2006

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Characterizations of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee are appended hereto.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished locally to intelligence offices of the U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, and U.S. Air Force.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is a Federal fugitive. A warrant has been issued charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement-Assault With Intent to Commit Murder.

The August 9, 1969 edition of "The Black Panther", a weekly newspaper of the BPP published in San Francisco, California reported that Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of BPP and Kathleen Cleaver were in Algiers, where a son had been born to them.

On July 4, 1969, SF T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available the attached copies of a transcript of one segment of a weekly Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television program entitled "The Way It Is", of May 11, 1969 and a transcript of another weekly program carried on the same network, named "Take 30" of May 20, 1969.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-447251-694

1-gm XEROX
SEP 11 1969

ENCLOSURE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-membership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful, it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. RAP BROWN, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

"THE WAY IT IS"

One Segment Only

11/5/69

May 11, 1969 Channel 4

Announcer: Perhaps you feel that you already know everything you need to know about the Black Panther Party of the United States, You may be right, but late last month, the wife of one of the leaders came to Toronto to address a rally. Her husband, Eldridge CLEVER, has been a fugitive of justice for 5 months. He's wanted for attempted murder and assault. Well, meanwhile his remarkable book, Soul on Ice, has become a runnaway/best seller in the United States and Canada. It was hard not to be interested in Kathaleen CLEVER as she arrived in Toronto, 6 months pregnant and under continuous escort by a platoon of Panthers. We met her on the local program, called the Day It Is, where Barbara FRUM (ph) attempted an interview.

FRUM: Tell me about your own personal fight.

CLEVER: No, I'm not going to talk about my own personal, if we are going to talk about anything, we're going to talk about the Black Panther Party.

FRUM: Is there any sense with Eldgridge CLEVER in hiding that you then inherit whatever mantel.

CLEVER: I don't, why, Eldridge has his own mantle. No.

FRUM: You're sort of not the, his replacement now.

CLEVER: I mean I, no no you don't replace people in the Black Panther Paty. Eldridge is the Minister of Information. I work with Eldridge, I'm the communications secretary, but I have my work, Eldridge has his work. I can't do his work and he can't do my work.

FRUM: What is the nature of the Black Panther Party now? Do you is it open to general membership, or is it a matter of select cadres now?

CLEVER: At this point. Yes, they select cadres, it's not a mass Party, it is a vanguard Party, that's interested in creating the political and military organization that's necessary to lead the colonized people in their struggle for political power in order to implement their goals. Achieve their goals. You see people

FRUM: But you don't want any weak links at this point in this chain or

CLEVER: No. We can't afford it. It's too dangerous, to_treacherous and too many people laying to stab us in the back. The original activity was to initiate armed patrols of the black community to defend the people against the terrorization and murder of the police, because the occupying army of the police departments just terrorized the people, shoot the people, arrest the people, do anything to black people with impunity. There was no way of getting a civilian review board, there was no way of getting any agency within the city to stop this and there was no way of stoping the police department from doing this or replacing the police department, so it was completely, the people were completely at the mercy of the police who are terrorist dogs. It was just like an organized Northern version of the Ku Klux Klan. They, the policemen themselves don't even know what the laws are. They know what their duties are which are to murder and terrorize and control

CLEVER: black people and that's what they do. But they don't even have to relate to the law. No one teaches them the law and they don't, half of them can't hardly read it. X XXXX XX

FRUM: I want to just sort of follow the line. If, in fact these black and white people are armed against each other

CLEVER: It's not if, in fact, these black and white people are armed against each other, it's if, in fact for the past 400 years, the black people have been unarmed and subjected to the violence of the armed white community, then at this point, it's time to stop that and if there is no other means of stopping it, then arming the black people and driving everyone of the oppressors into the sea, that's what we will do.

FRUM: Do you see the Black Panthers in fact as linking with some revolutionary spirit that's at work in North America, that goes across racial lines.

CLEVER: We see the Black Panther Party as promoting revolutionary spirits in North America that goes across racial lines.

FRUM: How far along do you see the revolution now?

CLEVER: I would say that they've gone to the point that revolution is inevitable, and irrovocable (ph). American pop

FRUM: And you don't think the industrial military complex of the United States could still defeat such a movement?

CLEVER: The industrial military complex of the United States could not even defeat the Viet Kong. Now how would they defeat 50 million black people, armed and organized to the gills and the black communities on their own territory. If every stratigic location of their own country. In order to destroy

CLEVER: black people, they have to destroy their own territory, they have to destroy their cities, they have to destroy their harbours, they have to destroy everything they have. And the Black Panther Party and the black people say that if they will move to destroy us, we will put them in a position where the only victory they can possibly have is a pirate (ph) victory that they will have to destroy themselves in order to destroy us. If they do that, then the enemies of America which are world wide, can come in and pick the gold out of their teeth.

FRUM: Do you feel like an oppressed person?

CLEVER: Yes. I feel very oppressed.

FRUM: As a Panther you feel

CLEVER: I feel oppressed as a person. I cann't even see my own husband, I can't talk to him, I don't know where he is. I'm suppose to have a baby in 3 months, I don't know if I will live that long to do it. I all, almost half the people that are closest to me are dead, or in prison, I can't see them. Every time I walk down the street, I see my own people being tortured and starved and murdered and brutilized 24 hour a day. I don't see any resources to do anything about that. I don't see any concern to do anything about that. I don't see anybody trying to stop that, with the intensity that it is being perpurtrated. I see that we are powerless and all that I can see that anything and everything that could be done at this very moment to put an end to that, we have to do it right now. Because there is no guarantee on how long

CLEVER: We are going to be able to be here to do it.

FRUM: Do you consider your husband in hiding or in exile?

CLEVER: That's irrelevant what I believe. If you want to know any information about Eldridge CLEVER, all enquiries should be directed to the C.I.A.

May 20, 1969 Channel 4

Mrs. CLEVER (Cathleen) We are the victims of intense violence, whether it's we the black Panther Party, we black people, we Mexican people, we Indian people we West Indian People, or we Canadian people, because any time you live in the city that denies people decent housing, denies people of decent medical care, denies people even the right to come into the city, denies people the right to even go to a party without having a pig jump on them and beat 'em across the head and this happens in this city. It might not happen to you because you're white and you might not know about what's happening to the people that aren't white but it's happening.

Paul SOL' I think the coalition should be extended beyond the people of color to the whites as well because there are, according to statistics, 1 out of every 5 people in this country is suffering from some sort of poverty and it is time for a radical change, whether it means revolution or not.

Mrs CLEVER So when we see a ghetto in Toronto and if we see the people being treated like they're treated in the United States, we know what you decided to do. Cause you had advanced warning and you had advanced education but you would see it coming and on the question of violen you like to turn around and say "Well, why are you so violent?" or "Why do you like violence, why do you preach violence?" I'm trying to show you that it's not us that's preachin violence, it's not us that's dealin violence, it's us that's being subject's to violence.

Adrienne CLARKSON Cathleen CLEAVER at 23 , a militant spokesman in Black America, wife of writer, Eldridge CLEAVER, today her life, ideas and work

CLARKSON on Take 30 in 60 seconds. Violence and revolution were once words that we applied to other continents. But today in North America they are acted out in the ghettos of the poor and they even threaten university campuses. The explainations for the anger are generally the same. A dissatisfaction with the inequalities and the economic and social structure of our society. And a resulting anger directed towards those who have the political and economic power. The rage increases when the frustrated and alienated see that their demands for a share in the wealth and power are being unheeded, fulfilled to slowly and so people dream of taking power into their own hands. One such group is the Black Panther Party. This political group has moved from unorganized hostilities to calculated anger focused on specific targets. Kathleen CLEAVER is a member of this small but extremely militant organization. And it is she that you will meet today. Many of you will not like her or will find her extreme militant language disturbing even tedious. You may be offended by her assessment of society, for she uses her own brand of Marxist language. Employing whatever is useful to forward her own arguements. And she believes that every individual who does not take an active stand is implicitly supporting inequality. But Kathleen's view of our world is the view from the other side. She talks of the anger and frustration of oppressed people all over the world. She angrily examines society from the ghetto of poverty where dreadful conditions simply belie any laws that state that all men have a right to equal opportunity. Kathleen CLEAVER's husband, Eldridge CLEAVER is probably the Panthers most famous member. He grew up in a black slum in Los Angeles and by his early teens, he had begun the familiar sickening descent into

CLARKSON reform schools and the nightmare world of jails. His crimes became more and more violent, including rape and eventually he was sentenced to 13 years for assault to murder. Ironically, his fortune changed in jail. Life there was intollerable but with the encouragement of one enlightened teacher, he began to read voraciously and to harness his anger with a carefully thought-out assessment of what was wrong in the relations between black and white America. CLEAVER started to write and his passionate and sometimes poetic work was smuggled out of prison and published in Ramparts Magazine. His bitterly eloquent assessment of the black predicament, soon made him a hero of both negro and white intellectuals. His first book "Sole on Ice" was published after he left prison and was immediately hailed as one of the finest books to ever come out of Black America. Kathleen's story is different. Her parents were professors and later, American Diplomats and she grew up in the privileged environment of Embassy life in India, the Philippines and Africa. When she returned to the United States in 1961 to go to school, Dr. Martin Luther KING's work in non-violent protest was in full force.

K CLEAVER At that time I'm, mainly because, I relate to doing things, I don't moreso than thinking up ideas and plans and all that and as I became more and more and more involved and more educated in terms of exactly what was going on in the movement, say when I was 16 I was, thought that Dr. Martin Luther KING was good and what he was doing was good but that the time, that was '61 but by 1966 when I had started working with SNICK, Stokley had just made his Black Power and this was the whole thing and various statements he had made and his speeches that I had read, I agree with that so this

K CLEAVER is right, this is good.

UM-1 The only important thing that I think that students would, ought to view on this thing as part of the black community that from this day on, ~~this thing~~ the United States of America and white people will no longer pick our hero's, we will decide who our heros are.

K CLEAVER Myself as working with the campus program so we were in touch with students all across the country. But I think the basic contact with the Black Panthers did come from Eldridge when he got out of prison in December of 1966 and started working for Ramparts Magazine. In January, he went on a tour to interview Stokley CARMICHAEL from Chicago to Washington and he was with him for about a month. He just travelled with Stokley and then Stokley came back with the information about the Panthers and everyone at SNICK were very, very excited and impressed with this group that seemed to be more radical and more revolutionary than anything else that was happening but we didn't really have anyone on the West coast so we didn't know too much about it.

CLARKSON What was he like when you first met him?

K CLEAVER Just different to anyone else I'd ever seen. He was not remote but a very calm person. Very sober, not in a dull way, but he just seemed to be so much more settled in the tour and conscious. Most of the people that I was working with in SNICK. He was older than us and well, he just had, we sort of looked at Eldridge like a hero because he was a writer and he was an Ex-convict and he was a very fascinating person to us.

CLARKSON Why would, being an Ex-convict make him a hero to you?

K CLEAVER Well not that he was an Ex-convict, Malcolm was an Ex-convict, it's just that very few Ex-convicts ever move into the liberation

K CLEAVER struggle. This is very rare.

E CLEAVER I've never been one of those who hated being black. I've always liked myself you know. I don't really abstract mystical love for white people you know.

CLARKSON Do you think

E CLEAVER (undistinguishable) uptight and people will just take a particular quote out of my book and they'll quote that, you know and it's really very shallow the way they do that. And it bothers me that people will accept that, such as quotation and say, well, Eldridge CLEAVER loves white people and just (undistinguishable) conclusion that you know he loves white people. Well that's not the case. I judge white people by the same standards I judge black people. Lik a lot of black people will say, like revolutionaries, you know, and a lot of people want to wear black berets or black leather jackets and say that they are Black Panthers you know, but they don't want to do the work, they don't want to accept the discipline that goes along with that so that I always judge people on the basis of their performance.

CLARKSON In 1966 in Oakland, California, two young black intellectuals, Huey P. NEWTON and Bobby SEALE formed the Black Panther Party. CLEAVER soon joined the party as Minister of Education. They mapped out an education plan on simple revolutionary lines. NEWTONS hope was to make the Party Platform simple and clear enough in its goals that black people would unite under the revolutionary symbol of the gun. Their desire - that the black control and determine the destiny and fulfillment of their own communities.

Huey P. NEWTON When we first organized the Black Panther Party, for self-defence, I'd say, Bobby, we gonna draw up a basic platform, just basic so the black people can read. He says we don't want to go really elaborate with all these essays and dissitations and all that stuff because the brothers gonna look at that and say "Man I don't got time for that, I gonna go see what I can do for myself". It's just a basic platform, power to determine the destiny for our black community, full employment for our people, number 3, we want housing fit, decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings, number 4, want all black men to be exempt from military service.

K CLEAVER The Black Panther Party is the same type of movement, represents the same type of forces, the same type of ideas that have sprung up in all colonial countries of a liberation movement, a liberation struggle. Some countries, they have different names. They have the Peoples Independent's Party in some countries, they have the Communist Party in some countries, they have this party in the other countries, but the people always come up with an organization based on revolutionary principles and most of these countries, base on the economic and political and social theories of Marxism and Leninism to deal with the conditions.

CLARKSON One of the conditions to be remedied was the widely acknowledged police prejudice and brutality in negro ghettos. The Panthers sensational solution was a decision to arm themselves and patrol their own ghettos against what they consider unfair police interference, advising negros being arrested of their legal rights.

E CLEAVER We have young kids who joined, but we only let them sell papers and teach them black American history and teach them something about their past and their place in the world and society. The age of 16

E CLEAVER and if the mother says it's alright, we train the young brother how to fieldstrip (ph) a weapon, teach him about the safety of weapons and how the weapon is for defence and not for attacking maliciously anyone. The nature of a Panther, he doesn't attack anyone. But when he's backed into a corner and he cann't move, those persons or person or group who are attacking them, then he comes out of that corner to wipe out that attacker, aggressor, absolutely, resolutely, wholly, thoroughly and completely.

K CLEAVER That's how the Party started to grow. First it was two, then three then four, then five, then ten, then fifteen, then twenty, then thirty- then forty, then fifty black men patrolling the streets of Oakland, armed to the gills, tape recorders, cameras, and law books and any time they saw a pig stop a black person, they'd jump out and stand there, legal distance away and watch it. And if the pig didn't do anything against the law, they wouldn't say anything, but if the pig pulled a gun on him, and they pulled a gun on them, and police brutality went down very quickly in Oakland.

E CLEAVER Is somebody shooting at you? Is someone trying to oppress you or brutalize you? If you can look out there and you can see hungry kids in the morning, so you organize the people. You go out and like one of our programs breakfast for the children in the morning. Junior High and Grammar School, we're going to start with. Talking about a free health clinic, talking about black liberation schools that teaches us about our true nature and our black history and our youth. So you organize to alter these things so you can see when you're being attacked, when you're suffering.

UM-1 We want education, we want justice and we want peace.

CLARKSON Well, I know that one of the platforms of the Black Panthers is that all black people should be let out of prison because they have not had a fair trial. I don't know that I'm quoting that exactly, but that's one of the platforms and it's the one of which I think most people follow.

K CLEAVER The actual point in our platform is that we believe that all black people should be released from all city, county, federal, state prisons and jails because they have not had a fair trial hmmm by a jury of their peers. Also, the conditions under which black people are forced to live in this country, they have no choice in making and the court system, they have no participation in and the jury system, they have no participation in, you have the people who are victims of a society that is, in most respects, criminal in terms of the way it treats black people and the point is that black people should not be being sent to prison for robbery. They should have adequate means of supporting themselves and feeding their family so they wouldn't have to be involved in this type of thing. See, it's a very interesting, not interesting, very classic class division in terms of the prisons. In the prisons, there are only poor people, there are no rich people in prison, very few middle class, educated, white people in prison because the society has openings for them. When they commit crimes, which they do routinely, they're not convicted and if they are caught, they get good lawyers and they get nice treatment.

CLARKSON But supposing a black person does commit a crime that is, you know, say a federal crime or a state crime or whatever it may be, and does do this, whatever it is, murder or armed robbery, is it fair to say that therefore, they should just be let out of prison becaus

A CLEAVER Well, that's not the point, that you see we don't take that point in isolation from all the other factors of the society. The basic point of the Black Panther Party is to change the entire conditions under which black people live. We're not saying that we do not think that black people commit crimes, that's not the point. The point is the society which designates black people as criminals is in fact a far greater criminal and that the conditions of the prisons in which they keep black people and white people and all kinds of people are so atrocious that there is nothing a person can do in their lifetime that would merit this type of treatment.

CLARKSON Many blacks are horrified by the Panthers, not because of their ideals, but because their hostile, antagonistic demands may simply increase the fear, intollerance and prejudice of white America. But the estimated 2,600 Panthers and 45 chapters across America are doing more than toting guns. Members are suppose to adhere to rigi disciplines which include, compulsory community work programs such as breakfasts for school children, night dinners for families. They've established free ghetto health clinics and black banks, alcohol is forbidden during working hours and drugs are not allowed even petty theivery is to be severely punished. All Panthers must learn to read and study revolutionary literature, including MAO's Red Book and the writings of CLEAVER and NEWTON. The essential theme of their teaching is that the ghetto is the exploited colony of racist, white America. They no longer talk about integration, they talk about justice and their right to share in the country that they helped to build. They say they are not out to destroy whites, but to change the structure of a society that allows prejudice, segregation and inequality.

K CLEAVER White persons, per say are not the people that have robbed black people. It's a system which is based on slave labor, that has robbed black people, it's essentially capitalists, and capitalism which has robbed black people.

CLARKSON Do you really think that things are better in a socialist society, which is actually working out socially (unidentifiable) Cuba or a Soviet Union?

K CLEAVER It's better for the masses of the people and any of the group will tell you that. The bourgeoise don't think it's better because they will have some of their privileges taken away but in a society like in Cuba where prior to the revolution, prior to CASTRO's taking power, the vast majority of the people were illiterate, uneducated, had no medical facilities, no jobs and no decent housin This is the situation they are moving to change, to give medical attention to everyone, to give decent food to everyone, to give education to everyone and people recognize that this is a very basic change. And you see that whole theory devide and conquer has been worked on black people to ultimate perfection to the point where black people become so divided that they can never do anything together but the whole thrust of the movement since the mid 60's has been towards unity to eliminate all theses factions, to eliminate distinctions, to come together as one people and do one thing, because that's power.

CLARKSON The Panthers and the police view one another with a paranoia that provokes hostilitys on both sides and around America, police target in on Panthers with charges ranging from jay-walking to murder. Th leadership of the Panther movement is at all times threatened. In July 1967, Huey NEWTON was wounded in one of the many ghetto shoot-

CLARKSON outs and jailed for manslaughter. Bobby SEALE has been endited along with seven white radicals on charges of conspiracy to encite riots during the Chicago Democratic Convention. CLEAVER to is a victim of hostilities. He's been a senior editor at Ramparts Magazine and a guest lecturer at the University of California. He' a hero of many of the white liberals and the radical left. He ran last fall as the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party's Presidential Candidate.

E CLEAVER (unidentifiable) with their fingers on nuclear triggers. What'd you come here for, to hear me curse? Actually I'm not going to curse tonight. If their whole election is irrelevant, all 3 of these pigs that we have a choice of oink (unidentifiable), oink country and oink WALLACE and after all, they call for this race of power structure that oinks about law and order to remove, to withdraw the occupying forces of the local police from the black community, from the Peurto Rican community, from every community including the white community (unidentifiable due to clapping and loud outbursts from the audience) The contradictions that we speak about is the culture of oppression and all of these things that we mention in which horrify, scatarizd (ph) high (ph) people is just the truth of the situation spoken about in public. There's an elaborate creation of myth in this country, designed to conceal what's really been going on and it had to be concealed because it does things to a persons sanity, they are constantly aware of bein involved in perpetry (ph) legal (ph). My patrol officer, the authorities here in Alameter (ph) county, they weren't bothering me because I was not doing anything. I was being quiet, keeping m mouth shut and my patrol officer had order me to not make any more

E CLEAVER speeches and I wasn't doin that but Bobby was in prison serving a 6 months sentence on a framed up gun charge and Huey was arrested and there was a need for people to discuss that, so that the public would understand the political nature of the case so that I could no longer go along with my parole officer and I started making these speeches you see. Discussing Heuy's case specifically and we did very well on that and we managed to create a lot of attention on Huey's case and for this we are in their undying hatred of us.

K CLEAVER In April 6, 1968, Eldridge was in a burning house on 28th street in which the 15 50 cops were surrounding they just poured a thousand rounds of ammunition threw tear gas and finally set it on fire. Eldridge and Bobby HUTTON were the only people in this house. At 50 policemen, tear, when they set the house on fire, they decided rather come out than burn to death, but they'd probably be killed and Bobby HUTTON was murdered. THey just fired machine guns, fired on him immediately when he came out with his hands up.

CLARKSON Bobby HUTTON was only 16 and unarmed. CLEAVER, still on parole was returned to prison for 2 months, although no charges against him were proved, but a California Superior Court judge ruled that he was being held as a political prisoner and he was released. But again the decision was reversed when 2 highter courts ruled against CLEAVER. He was asked to surrender himself as a parole violator and to serve the remainder of his 1958 sentence. Unwilling to face again the nightmare of prison and convinced that he would be killed if he returned to jail, he chose last winter to become a fugitive. No one knows where he is hiding and in the meantime Kathleen CLEAVER, is expecting his child and carries on alone. You are expecting a child now, are you worried for the childs future?

Well, not his future, if he gets born, then I'll be happy. I am afraid sometimes that the type of pressures that I, we're subjected to the type of things that happen that might cause a miscarriage but I mean that's just a fact you know, worrying is not going to change it.

Do you see yourself as, you just are dedicating your entire life to this particular

I'm not dedicating my life , my life is, my life is my work and my work is in this movement to the liberation of black people. Theres nothing highter that any person can do with their time or their skill, the move to liberate their people, or to liberate themselves

What do you think is the most important thing that Eldridge CLEAVER most important, either attitude or feeling or purpose that he has given you?

That's very hard to say, I mean when you, when you're whole life is very much involved with another person united to the purpose of creating revolution, in this country to eliminating these condition and working in the black liberation struggle which I was doing and Eldridge was doing before we met each other and we continue to do that together, that's hard to say. It's just that Eldridge and I found ourselves in absolutely complete and perfect and total communication with each other and that's rare indeed. And find that communication and then love, personal harmony, well that's all almost unheard of. Especially under these conditions though. Lets say the best thing is that Eldridge and I found out that we're not alone in this world. commercial. If you chose to seperate yourself away from the human race seperate yourself away into something

K CLEAVER different, act like we don't exist, act like these problems aren't real. That's your decision and it will be your problem and I hope it will be your regret, because oppressed people around the face of the earth, whether they are Africans or West Indians or Americans or American Indians or Vietnamese, they all seem to manage to end up doing the same thing in the same way for the same reason. We have to begin to recognize that and move on that and deal on that for the world is one world. The people happen to be one people whether they like it or not. And you can deal with that, you can deal with reality and that's being an accomplishment. Thank you.

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

August 28, 1969

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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CONFIDENTIAL

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 9/5/69

To:

[X] Director

Att.:

[ ] SAC

[ ] ASAC

[ ] Supv.

[ ] Agent

[ ] SE

[ ] IC

[ ] CC

[ ] Steno

[ ] Clerk

FILE BUFILE 100-447251;
BON FILE 105-7048

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-
FUG.
I.O. #4239; W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT
MURDER

RE.

[ ] Rotor #

ACTION DESIRED

[ ] Acknowledge
[ ] Assign ___ Reassign ___
[ ] Bring file
[ ] Call me
[ ] Correct
[ ] Deadline
[ ] Deadline passed
[ ] Delinquent
[ ] Discontinue
[ ] Expedite
[ ] File
[ ] For information
[ ] Handle
[ ] Initial & return
[ ] Leads need attention
[ ] Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

[ ] Open Case
[ ] Prepare lead cards
[ ] Prepare tickler
[ ] Return assignment card
[ ] Return file
[ ] Search and return
[ ] See me
[ ] Serial #
[ ] Post [ ] Recharge [ ] Return
[ ] Send to
[ ] Submit new charge out
[ ] Submit report by
[ ] Type

Letter to S.A. w/ encls (4) (2 Amos, 1 Fam, 1 Nuccio) Security Division of Netherlands (3) RFU mon 9 23 69 Fwd for info. Also copy of report of Internal Security Service

FBI. SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7C

Attached for information are 2 copies of a "Confidential" memorandum [redacted] (C) [redacted] (C). Bureau no doubt is aware through press or other sources

b1

1-Bureau (Enc. 3) ENCLOSURE
1-Bonn
XXX See reverse side
GAV:ner
(2)

SAC

Office LEGAT, BONN

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-25-2031

447251-
RECORDED
10 OCT 6 1969

59 OCT 9 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

b1

of CLEAVER's appearance in Algiers and his press conference there.

The enclosed interview with the [redacted]

RECEIVED
SEP 10 10 03 AM '69
F B I ANNEX

100-447251
NOT RECORDED
10 OCT 6 1969

59 OCT 9 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

SECRET

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-25-2031/12/69

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
I.O. 4239, W.F. 447
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER, RAPE AND
ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON;
RM - BPP

[redacted] a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected at all costs, advised on 9/12/69 that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER has moved from his last known place of residence, the hotel in Algiers, and even the leadership of the BPP has no knowledge of his present whereabouts. [redacted] who is presently travelling in Japan, has been trying to contact CLEAVER from Japan but has been unable to do so. This source had previously advised that [redacted] was to travel on to Algiers from Japan for the purpose of seeing CLEAVER. b2 b6 b7C

[redacted] (5) b1

EX-1

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - San Francisco
(1 - 88-12329)
FL:jo
(5)

100-447251-9/15/69 96

SEP 17 1969

70 SEP

SECRET

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

S-143a (9-29-65)
DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3,3(1)

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

b1

~~SECRET~~

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 9/15/69

(S)

The attached indicates that [redacted] Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the extremist Black Panther (BPP) and a Bureau fugitive, [redacted] (S) [redacted]. Cleaver was last known to be in Algeria with his family.

(S)

This information is being furnished our San Francisco Office with instructions to remain alert for foreign travel by BPP representatives who may plan to meet Cleaver and accompany him to North Korea.

ABF:lkk

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

VIA TELETYPE
SEP 18 1969
ENCIPHERED

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON-----4-----

6:11 PM DEFERRED 9/18/69 JXR

TO DIRECTOR (PLAINTEXT

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) 1P

Louis algeria
100-447251
IF #239
WF #447
A + D

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; RAPE; ASSAULT WITH DEADLY WEAPON; [redacted]

RM- BPP. OO: SF.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

ANONYMOUS FEMALE OF EXPLORERS CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO, CALLED TODAY, ADVISING THAT ON SEPTEMBER FIVE LAST SHE AND HER GROUP OBSERVED CLEAVER AND [redacted] AT PARAA LODGE, MURCHISON FALLS, UGANDA. SHE DID NOT RECOGNIZE THEM HERSELF BUT THEY WERE RECOGNIZED BY OTHER UNNAMED MEMBERS OF HER TOUR GROUP. CALLER STATED THAT THE CLEAVERS WERE PAYING GUESTS AT THE LODGE AND THEY TOO WERE ON TOUR THAT DAY BUT MAY HAVE BEEN THERE BEFORE AND AFTER THE EXPLORERS CLUB GROUP LEFT.

EFFORT WILL BE MADE THROUGH EXPLORERS CLUB TO VERIFY.

END.

REM FBI WASH DC

REC- 80 100-447251-698

ST-109

SEP 22 1969

TELETYPED TO:

1 XEROX

SEP 1969

5 OCT 3 1969

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale

Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9-18-69

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
I. O. 4239, WANTED FLYER 447
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT-
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

b6
b7C

This is to advise of information from the Department of the Army advising Black Panther Party (BPP) leader and fugitive, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, participated in a demonstration against the United States in Panmunjon, Korea, on 9-15-69.

The Army has advised that a demonstration against the United States was held at Panmunjon, Korea, on 9-15-69. The demonstrators, numbering 55 persons including eight to ten Americans, were on a North Korean sponsored tour of Panmunjon. According to the Army, two of the demonstrators were reportedly members of the BPP, and United Nations personnel present claimed to have positively identified Cleaver as one of them. Cleaver is a BPP national official who is a fugitive from justice and has been living in Algeria with his family. We previously received information that he was considering a trip to North Korea. He is known to have been in Algeria as late as 9-5-69. The Army advised that no violence or incidents occurred during the demonstration at Panmunjon and that photographs of the demonstrators were taken. 5- [redacted]

We are attempting through liaison to obtain copies of the photographs in an effort to positively identify Cleaver and the other individual alleged to be a BPP member. The above information is being furnished to San Francisco, office of origin in the investigation of Cleaver and the BPP.

REC 5 100-447251 699

ACTION:

For information.

100-447251

EX-103

SEP 24 1969

ABF:jlm/ljw
(9)
58 OCT 2 1969

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

DATE: 12-01-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 12-01-2031

Date: 9/22/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, EL PASO (174-137) (RUC)

SUBJECT: [redacted]
BOMBING MATTERS - THREATS

OO: AQ

Re SC telephone call to EP, 9/20/69;
EP tel call to AQ, 9/20/69.

At approximately 5 p.m., 9/20/69, SA [redacted] [redacted] Sacramento FBI Office, telephonically advised SPC [redacted] that he had received information from an OSI Agent at McClellan AFB, California, regarding information which had been furnished to the OSI Agent by [redacted] believed by the OSI Agent to be a Negro male.

[redacted] who said he was calling from telephone number [redacted] but who was charging the calls to telephone number [redacted] sounded as though he were "possibly drunk" and background noise in the call gave the impression that [redacted] was calling from a bar.

[redacted] told the OSI Agent at approximately 3:15 p.m. PDT, that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and a "bunch of other people" were in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, across the Rio Grande River from El Paso, Texas.

3-Bureau (RAM)
(1- 100-447251)
2-Albuquerque (RAM)
2-Sacramento (RAM)
2-El Paso (1- 174-137) (1- 100-6098)

100-447251-

FJP:sf
(9)

~~SECRET~~

CARBON COPY

NOT RECORDED
178 OCT 6 1969

530CT9 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 174-1-16-96

EP 174-137

[redacted] alleged that CLEAVER had one conventional nuclear device and a "lot of plastic nuclear devices". According to [redacted], these devices were to be used to blow up El Paso, Texas, Chicago, Illinois, and New York City, New York between the hours of 7 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. MDT, on 9/20/69. The conventional nuclear device would be detonated in El Paso, Texas, and the others in the above cities.

b6
b7C

The above information was telephonically furnished to [redacted] G-2, Ft. Bliss, Texas, SA [redacted] 112th MIG, and to [redacted], [redacted], U. S. Secret Service.

At 6:30 p.m., 9/20/69, SA [redacted] Las Cruces FBI RA, telephonically advised that [redacted] a police character, had been arrested by the Las Cruces PD at the Drive-In-Bar in Las Cruces, New Mexico, in a very inebriated condition, after being made aware of the information previously furnished by the Sacramento Office.

El Paso indices indicate that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, IO #4239, WF #447, was last reported to be in Cuba, which fact was confirmed by [redacted]

b1
(S)

The above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau in the event the information contained in [redacted] telephone call were to be the subject of any inquiries from outside agencies.

b6
b7C

LEADS

ALBUQUERQUE

AT LAS CRUCES, NEW MEXICO:

Since El Paso is not in possession of information regarding complete background of [redacted] and his activities, Albuquerque should submit LHM to appropriate agencies.

SACRAMENTO

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA:

Will submit LHM regarding Sacramento portion of this matter.

SECRET

VIA TELETYPE

SEP 1969

ENCIPHERED

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STATE 106

URGENT 9-24-69

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT TOKYO NO 87

ALL INFORMATION CONTAIN
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED E
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b6
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, IO NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE;

WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN; RM-BPP; UFAC.

(S)

b1

SUBJECT CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCB/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-25-2031

RECEIVED: 6:32AM RM

CLASSIFICATION PER CGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

REC-122

100-447251-Serial 100

EX-103

14 SEP 26 1969

SECRET

58 OCT 31 1969

MR. SULLIVAN

RD CC: MR; BRENNAN

b2

PAGE TWO

PREVIOUS REPORTS BY SOURCE INDICATES BPP NATIONA HEADQUATERS HAS HAD NO CONTACT WITH CLEAVER FOR APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS AND DO NOT KNOW WHEREABOUTS, BELIEVEING HIM TO HAVE LAST BEEN IN ALGIERS, ALGERIA, ALTHOUGH INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO FBI, SAN FRANCISCO, PLACED CLEAVER IN MURCHISON FALLS, UGANDA, SEPTEMBER FIVE SIXTYNINE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [redacted] (SF T - SIXTEEN).

RESFTEL SEPTEMBER EIGHTEEN LAST.

LHM WILL FOLLOW.

END

BKR FBI WASHDC

VIA TELETYPE

SEP 27 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

WASHINGTON --9

440PM 9-25-69 DEFERRED CLP

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) CODE

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE,I.O. FOUR TWO THREE NINE; W.F. FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM- BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO:SF

SOURCE ADVISED SEPTEMBER TWENTYFIVE INSTANT, THAT [redacted] CONTACTED [redacted], NATIONAL BPP [redacted], TO VERIFY WIRE SERVICE REPORT CLEAVER NOW IN NORTH KOREA ATTENDING JOURNALIST CONVENTION.

[redacted] KNOWN TO BE FRIENDLY WITH BPP NATIONAL HEADQUATERS AND SOURCE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED BPP GIVES [redacted] PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT WITH RESPECT TO NEWS RELEASES.

[redacted] ADVISED [redacted] BPP NATIONAL HEADQUATERS PRESENTLY HAS NO CONTACT WITH CLEAVER AND HAS NO IDEA WHERE HE IS.

END PAGE ONE

EX-102
REC-23 100-447251-701
10 OCT 1 1969

TELETYPED TO: 9 1969
FTB

FBI - SAN FRANCISCO
CRIMINAL INVEST.

7-44 (Rev. 12-18-63)

SECRET

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-25-2031

SAC, **San Francisco (100-55520)** **September 23, 1969**

Director, FBI **(100-447251)**

REGISTERED MAIL

b6
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG.
I.O. #4239; W.F. #447
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

Bonn **routing slip**

Attached is the translation which XXXrequested by XXXXXX dated **9/5/69.**

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

MAILED 24
SEP 23 1969
COMM-FBI

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

EX-102
REC- 24 100-447251-702

b1
(5)

RECORDED
SEP 29 1969

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Racial Intelligence Section), sent direct with enclosure

RAY:mer
(4)

Enc.
(4)
ENCLOSURE

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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b7C

OCT 8 - 1969

MAIL ROOM ☑ TYPE UNIT ☐

SECRET

b6
b7C

STATE - A.I.D. - USIA
ROUTING SLIP

DATE
Sept. 30, 1969

TO: Name or Title	Organ. Symbol	Room No.	Bldg.	Initials	Date
1.	FBI				
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

	Approval		For Your Information		Note and Return
	As Requested		Initial for Clearance		Per Conversation
	Comment		Investigate		Prepare Reply
	File		Justify		See Me
	For Correction		Necessary Action		Signature

REMARKS OR ADDITIONAL ROUTING

SUBJECT: Eldridge Cleaver

The attached airgram from Algiers is for your information.

100-447251
NOT RECORDED
4 OCT 6 1969

ENCLOSURE

FROM: (Name and Org. Symbol)	ROOM NO. & BLDG.	PHONE NO.
	6645	

FORM 3-68 JF-29 (Formerly Forms D5-10, AID-5-50 & IA-68)

☆ GPO : 1968 O - 305-218 (136)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

70 OCT 8 1969

INTERVIEW LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

leader des "PANTHERES NOIRES"

L'ennemi est identifié, il faut maintenant le dé

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DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER a 34 ans et quelques jours. Il est né en effet le 31 août 1935 à Little Rock (Arkansas). Il vit son enfance en Californie où il suivit des études jusqu'au secondaire. Il fait ensuite de la prison où il passe neuf années. Une fois on l'accuse de « viol » et un autre jour pour « trafic de drogue » (méthode bien connue qui consiste à fabriquer des accusations de toutes pièces et souvent utilisée dans la répression contre les Noirs). Durant sa détention Cleaver écrit un livre « Soul on ice » (une âme dans la glace). Ce livre qui traite des rapports inter-raciaux connait un succès extraordinaire et révèle chez son auteur de réels talents d'écrivain. Devenu bestseller l'ouvrage est vendu à un million d'exemplaires. Une traduction est actuellement en préparation en France. Cet ouvrage porte déjà un titre (provisoire) : « Un Noir à l'ombre ».

Au sein du parti des « Panthères noires » Eldridge Cleaver est chargé de l'information. Bobby Seale est le président de ce parti dont HUEY NEWTON (actuellement en Cleaver vit à l'étranger. Il a été invité au Festival Culturel Panafricain. En plein Festival sa femme Kathleen a donné naissance à un garçon prénommé Eldridge (comme son père), Macéo (révolutionnaire noir cubain de la fin du siècle dernier) Abdelkader (en hommage à l'Algérie).

Eldridge Cleaver va maintenant collaborer à la revue américaine « Remparts » dont il sera le correspondant à l'étranger.

EL MOUDJAHID : Pouvez-vous nous parler du programme d'action de votre parti que vous avez représenté à la grande rencontre culturelle d'Alger ? Estimez-vous que ce programme puisse être applicable dans les conditions actuelles des Etats-Unis ?

CLEAVER : Le programme des « Panthères Noires » repose sur l'idée que le peuple noir aux Etats-Unis est colonisé. Nous reconnaissons que la situation est différente. Le colonialisme interne est différent du colonialisme classique, système dans lequel le pays colonisé est séparé géographiquement de la métropole. Lorsque nous parlons de colonialisme interne comme c'est le cas aux Etats-Unis, il faut considérer d'abord les groupes ethniques qui composent la société américaine. En fin de compte il y a ce qu'on appelle l'impérialisme ethnique. Nous préférons, à cette terminologie celle de « colonialisme des communautés », c'est-à-dire la domination d'une communauté par une autre.

« Il est clair que la communauté noire est colonisée par la communauté blanche. Notre lutte est de nous libérer de cette impérialisme. Nous allons plus loin que la libération du Pouvoir Noir. Nous disons ceci : le peuple noir doit se libère, mais il faut aussi une révolution dans la communauté blanche, une révolution d'ensemble aux Etats-Unis.

« Notre programme est basé sur cette vision. Il s'applique là où se manifeste cet impérialisme, c'est-à-dire dans le domaine économique, le marché, la répression policière. Les manifestations de cet impérialisme viennent du fait que le peuple noir n'a aucun contrôle sur les institutions qui dominent ces communautés.

« Toutes les institutions de la société sont contrôlées par la communauté blanche. Le peuple noir lutte pour contrôler sa communauté à l'intérieur de ce système, mais il est clair que le système équitable pour le peuple noir est le système socialiste. Nous rejetons les solutions séparatistes.

« Nous avons la responsabilité historique [illegible] de ce petit monde une communauté américaine où tout un chacun vivrait en paix

447351
ENCLOSURE

mement tout ce que l'on peut appeler racisme ou ethnocentrisme toute barrière artificielle dressée entre les peuples.

EL MOUDJAHID : Il existe dans la communauté noire aux Etats-Unis plusieurs partis et tendances politiques. Quels sont vos rapports avec les autres mouvements ? Avez-vous envisagé une action commune ?

CLEAVER : En fait nous avons dépassé l'étape du programme unifié. A l'heure actuelle aux Etats-Unis le président Nixon introduit ce qu'on appelle le capitalisme noir. C'est ainsi que l'Etat a « acheté » toutes les organisations qui se trouvent dans la communauté noire. Ces organisations cherchent à mettre sur pied de nouvelles structures, un mécanisme pour appliquer le capitalisme noir. Cependant sur le plan local nous travaillons avec différentes organisations mais ce ne sont pas les grandes organisations intégrationnistes que l'on connait. Ces organisations d'envergure, travaillent, elles, à l'implantation de ce capitalisme noir. A l'échelle locale on peut dire qu'il y a une action conjointe.

EL MOUDJAHID : Dans votre programme donnez-vous la priorité à la lutte armée, ou à l'action politique ? Ou bien aux deux à la fois ?

CLEAVER : Je pense que c'est toujours les deux inévitablement, elles sont toujours liées. Il est évident que l'on a recours à la lutte armée lorsque la lutte politique ne donne pas de résultats. Aux Etats-Unis la lutte armée est devenue inévitable. Les révolutionnaires en sont conscients. Le pouvoir lui, veut mettre le peuple noir dans une espèce de sac pour ajourner l'échéance de cette lutte.

EL MOUDJAHID : Pouvez-vous nous donner des précisions sur la base idéologique de votre programme ?

CLEAVER : Les principes des « Panthères Noires » sont basés sur le travail des révolutionnaires américains. On essaye de faire un mélange entre les pensées des leaders afro-américains et celles des révolutionnaires à travers le monde, par exemple les idées du marxisme-léninisme. La grande erreur a toujours été d'importer les expériences du marxisme-léninisme et de les appliquer à une situation donnée. En réalité chaque situation secrète ses propres solutions.

EL MOUDJAHID : Qu'entendez-vous par pensées afro-américaines ?

CLEAVER : Si l'on revient à l'époque des esclaves : il y eut de nombreux révolutionnaires qui n'ont ni lu ni connu Marx ou Lenine, ni Fanon. Cette expérience antérieure a une influence directe sur la situation actuelle. Le Parti des « Panthères Noires » a été influencé d'une façon positive et très profonde par les pensées de Fanon. Dans les cours d'éducation politique organisés par le Parti, l'étude des écrits de Fanon est obligatoire.

Les livres de Fanon sont populaires aux Etats-Unis aussi bien parmi les Noirs que parmi les révolutionnaires blancs.

EL MOUDJAHID : Quels sont justement vos rapports avec les révolutionnaires blancs ?

CLEAVER : Nous avons un programme et des perspectives. Notre idéologie sous-entend le pays tout entier. Le Parti est jeune, il existe depuis à peine trois ans. Notre objectif à long terme est de créer une organisation générale révolutionnaire capable de mettre fin au système capitaliste, raciste et impérialiste aux Etats Unis.

« Nous dirigeons notre action contre les institutions existantes. Il y a toujours une action conjointe avec tous les secteurs conscients de la population. Bien que cette action n'est pas menée à terme, il y a déjà une certaine coordination entre les militants noirs, ceux qui sont contre la guerre (Vietnam) et les étudiants, bref avec l'avant-garde des différents groupes ethniques qui composent la société américaine.

« Nous sommes arrivés au terme de la période dite de révélation sur les dangers du système. Nous entrons dans celle de la destruction du système. Maintenant, nous avons identifié l'ennemi. On peut le définir selon 3 catégories : en haut de la pyramide l'affairiste, ensuite le politicien démagogue, enfin le flic raciste (y compris l'armée et la garde nationale).

EL MOUDJAHID : Quelle place accordez-vous dans votre lutte à la culture ?

CLEAVER : La seule culture valable est la culture révolutionnaire, cela nous le savons depuis longtemps. Cela est naturel car elle représente la manière dont un peuple fait front à son environnement à un moment précis de son histoire. Il est naturel aussi que dans une situation révolutionnaire, la culture devienne révolutionnaire, car elle est le moyen, le véhicule, l'instrument de domination d'un peuple sur un autre. Dans une situation normale la culture est à l'exemple d'une fleur qui a sa beauté propre, sa manière de vivre, de croitre. J'estime que personne n'a besoin de dire à cette fleur comment elle doit organiser sa vie. Les fleurs sont comme les hommes, il faut les laisser vivre ».

INTERVIEW RECUEILLIE PAR
HAMID BOUCHAKDJI
ET HALIM MOKDAD

SECRET

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DATE: 06-09-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/P
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-09-2

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9/24/69

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER DATED 06-13-2006

CONFIDENTIAL

AIRTEL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF 1-8-80 DATE

TO : Director, FBI

FROM: LEGAT, TOKYO

RE : BLACK PANTHER PARTY - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(BUfile 105-165706)
(TOKfile 157-7) (P)

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP3 TEK/MS 10-1-79
REASON FOR EXTENSION 03
FCIM, II, 1-24
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 9-24-89

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(BUfile 100-447251)
(TOKfile 88-20) (P)

UNKNOWN SUBJECT;
Negro Male, Mid-twenties
RM - BBP
(TOKfile 157-19) (P)

Re San Francisco airtel 6/19/69 and TOKcab 9/23/69, captioned LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

[redacted]

(S)

No specific information is available at this time relative to the incident at Panmunjon other than that CLEAVER and an unknown

8 - Bureau (Encs. 8)
(2 - San Francisco)(88-12329)(157-2871)
(1 - Liaison Section)
3 - Tokyo
RVP:lw
(11)

100-447251-
NOT RECORDED
47 NOV 20 1969

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CONFIDENTIAL

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(S)

BPP member appeared on 9/15/69 with a group of journalists to demonstrate against the United States and allegedly threatened two Negro servicemen [redacted] the group was a portion of the individuals attending "an international conference of world reporters fighting against the American imperialists" meeting in Pyongyang, Korea, under North Korean auspices.

(S)

G-2, U.S. Eighth Army, Korea, [redacted] have been requested to provide complete data relative to the incident and, upon receipt, it will be promptly forwarded.

San Francisco is requested to advise Tokyo of the identity of BPP member accompanying CLEAVER, if possible, as Korean sources would like to be apprised of same. (J)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IS CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

SECRET

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DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-25-2031

10/23/69

CLASSIFICATION PER CGA LETTER DATED 06-13-2006

1 - Mr. J. J. Dunn
1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton

100-447251-

To: SACs,

Albany (100-19705) (Enc.-2)
Baltimore (157-3241) (Enc.-2)
Boston (157-654) (Enc.-2)
Buffalo (157-689) (Enc.-2)
Charlotte (157-6109) (Enc.-2)
Chicago (157-1291) (Enc.-2)
Cincinnati (157-2346) (Enc.-2)
Cleveland (Enc.-2)
Dallas (Enc.-2)
Denver (157-160) (Enc.-2)
Detroit (157-3075) (Enc.-2)
Houston (Enc.-2)
Indianapolis (157-1061)(Enc.-2)
Jacksonville (Enc.-2)
Kansas City (100-12571)(Enc.-2)
Los Angeles (157-1503) (Enc.-2)
Louisville (157-811) (Enc.-2)
Milwaukee (157-600) (Enc.-2)
Minneapolis (157-525) (Enc.-2)
Newark (100-49194) (Enc.-2)
New Haven (100-1918) (Enc.-2)
New York (100-161993) (Enc.-2)
Oklahoma City (Enc.-2)
Omaha (157-403) (Enc.-2)
Philadelphia (157-2004) (Enc.-2)
Pittsburgh (Enc.-2)
Portland (157-392) (Enc.-2)
Richmond (Enc.-2)
Sacramento (157-52) (Enc.-2)
San Diego (100-13978) (Enc.-2)
San Francisco (157-2871)(Enc.-2)
Seattle (157-807) (Enc.-2)
Springfield (157-1053) (Enc.-2)

From: Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 84)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
RACIAL MATTERS

(5)

[redacted]

b1

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-84

MAILED 22
OCT 22 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ATF:lll
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

SECRET

54 OCT 27 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

"ENEMY IS IDENTIFIED, NOW HE MUST BE DESTROYED"

(Summary of interview with Eldridge Cleaver published in El Moudjahid, Algiers, 13 September 1969)

The Black Panther program was founded on the idea that the black people in the United States are colonized. Internal colonialism is different from classical colonialism, and when we speak of internal colonialism, as in the case of the United States, the ethnic groups which make up U.S. society must first be considered. When all these things are considered, ethnic imperialism is seen to exist. We prefer the term "colonialism of communities;" that is, domination of one community by another.

It is clear that the black community has been colonized by the white community. Our struggle is aimed at liberating us from that imperialism. We go further than Black Power liberation. We say, black people must be free, but there must also be revolution in the white community and general revolution in the United States.

Our program, based on this vision, is applied wherever this imperialism shows itself: in the economic domain, in the market, and in police repression. Manifestations of this imperialism come from the fact that black people have no control at all of the institutions dominating these communities.

All institutions are controlled by the white community. Black people struggle to control their community within this system, but it is clear that the equitable system for black people is the Socialist system. We reject Capitalist solutions. We firmly denounce everything that could be called racism or ethnocentrism and every artificial barrier thrown up between peoples.

100-447257-
ENCLOSURE

We have gone beyond the stage of a unified program (for the American black community). President Nixon is currently introducing "black capitalism." It is in this way that the State has bought all black community organizations. These organizations are seeking to erect a structure on which to apply black capitalism.

Armed struggle and political action always go together. Evidently one has recourse to armed struggle when political struggle yields no results. In the United States armed struggle has become inevitable. The revolutionaries are aware of this. The authorities wish to place black people in a sort of sack to postpone the occurrence of this struggle.

Black Panther principles are based on the work of American revolutionaries. We have tried to combine the thinking of the Afro-American leaders with those of revolutionaries throughout the world; e.g., the ideas of Marxist-Leninism. The great mistake has always been to import Marxist-Leninist ideas and apply them to a given situation. In reality, each situation produces its own solutions.

There were numerous black revolutionaries during the period of slavery who had read neither Marx, Lenin, nor Fanon. The Black Panthers have been positively and very deeply influenced by Fanon's ideas. A study of his writing is obligatory in the Party. His books are popular among black and white revolutionaries in the United States.

Our long term aim is to create a general revolutionary organization capable of putting an end to the capitalist, racist, and imperialist system in the United States. We are directing our action against existing institutions. There already exists a certain coordination among black militants, those opposing the Vietnam war, and the students; in short, the vanguard of different ethnic groups that make up American society.

We have ended the period of exposing the dangers of the system. We are entering that of its destruction. Now we have identified the enemy. We can define him according to three categories: on top of the pyramid, the businessman; then the demagogic politician; and finally the racist cop (including the Army and the National Guard).

The only valid culture is a revolutionary culture. This is natural because it represents the manner in which a person comes to terms with his environment.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK NATIONALIST
(OO:WFO)
(Bufile 100-446080)
(WFOfile 100-43503)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPP
(OO:SF)
(Bufile 100-447251)
(SFfile 100-55520)
(WFOfile 157-2026)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and SF are 15 and 2 copies, respectively, of LHM, setting forth results of a TV program dealing with interviews of captioned subjects.

Dissemination at WFO is made locally to AUSA, U. S. Secret Service, and military agencies.

Copy of a tape of the program is being forwarded to the Bureau separately.

100-446080-9

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-447251-

RECORDED
OCT 6 1969

(4) Bureau (Enc. 15)
2- San Francisco (Enc. 2)(RM)
2- WFO

OMS:kyu
(8)

ENCLOSURE

56 OCT 20 1969

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

October 2, 1969

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

On Monday evening, September 29, 1969, Television Station WETA, (Channel 26, UHF), Washington, D. C., broadcast a program entitled "Black Journal." The program was described as: "Interviews. 1 Hour. Exclusive interviews with Eldridge Cleaver and Stokely Carmichael in a visit to the first Pan African Cultural Festival in Algeria."

Introductory remarks by the announcer noted that on July 24, 1969, 4,000 participants from 24 African countries and representatives of Black and Third World organizations met in Algiers for the festival. He said it was designed to promote greater cooperation in the struggle for economic and political liberation of the many African nations still under the pressures of colonialism; that it was also an attempt to eliminate the centuries old rancor between many Arabs and blacks; that although the event was mainly political, a great cultural showing was also in evidence. The announcer said that a statement by President Houari Boumedienne, President of Algeria, at one of the opening meetings, quoting him as saying, "Culture is a weapon in our struggle for liberation."

Reginald Wilson opened the program by stating that part of the festival which seems exciting to him as a historian is seeing the things which concretize what he knew academically, that is, the experiences of Africans, Africans in America, on the continent, Africans wherever they are, sharing in the same cultural experiences, sharing in all their traditions, their life styles, their musical culture, even their bases for religion; and seeing the experiences of all Africans sharing their common cultural heritage.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The interviews of Eldridge Cleaver and Stokely Carmichael on the program were separate. Cleaver appeared on the program before Carmichael, and his remarks pertained to Black Panther Party (BPP) policy, and will be set out later in this memorandum.

The program announcer stated that Stokely Carmichael was in Algiers for the festival, and it was announced that he was working as a secretary for Kwame Nkrumah, the former Premier of Ghana. Carmichael was asked if the problems of the Africans are the same as the problems of Afro-Americans, and he replied:

"The struggle in the States is no different than any place else where the black man is fighting the common oppressor. The fight is on two fronts, it is against racism and capitalism. I do not see if one gets rid of capitalism one automatically gets rid of racism. I cannot agree with that ideology. I think capitalism and racism are two different entities unto themselves, and we must wage relentless struggle against both. I repeat, to get rid of capitalism does not necessarily mean that you get rid of racism. You can still have racism, and as black people we ought to know that better than anyone else.

"I see that all of the movement we have been building up in terms of black nationalism leads us concretely to Pan-Africanism, straight to Pan-Africanism. Marcus Garvey went to Africa--there are those who claim he was a fanatic, that he was not; DuBois, who criticized Garvey, came back to Africa; it was he who came back to advise Kwame Nkrumah. Even George Padmore, this black man from the West Indies, this man who was on the Central Committee of the Comintern, and who served under Stalin in the 1930's in Russia, left Russia and went to Africa--he has a fantastic book on 'Pan-African or Communism.' You will find that C. L. R. James, a great Marxist, was at the last Black Power Conference in Bermuda. Pan-Africanism,

it is clear now that the only position for the black man is Pan-Africanism. That is my position.

"We need a base--a land base. Brother Malcolm X said in the final analysis all revolutions are based on land. We need land, and it seems to me that the best place at this point, and the quickest place, is Africa. I'm not denying that we may not be able to seize land in the United States--that may be a possibility, but I don't see it clearly in my mind at this time. But if we need land, and we need land immediately, we must look for the quickest place that we can seize it. I think the quickest place we can seize it is Africa, so that we can get a land base--one that belongs to the black man, so that we won't have to be running all over, so we can at least say this one belongs to us. We can begin to experiment with it and we can begin to develop and see what the concrete tasks of nation building, what they are, what we will need. I think particularly, that the best country of Africa now for us to talk about taking is Ghana, to bring back Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to Ghana. What we say--we should bring back Dr. Nkrumah for a number of reasons. I would be the last to deny he made mistakes. He was the first to talk about Pan-Africanism in concrete terms, and he demonstrated his willingness to fight. He sent his troops to the Congo; he mobilized his troops to move to Zambia against Zimbabwe when Ian Smith broke with them. He trained many guerrillas; he was the first to get Lumumba to bring him to Ghana, to give him the money to train him, to train his men, and to send him back. He gave his country as an open base for every African freedom liberation movement. All of them had training camps, were given everything they needed. He trained his youth with the concept of Pan-Africanism. He was the first to start the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who started the OAU--no one else, but of course, now today he's co-opted, et cetera, et cetera (sic). But he was the first. For example, he had nationalized all of the products in Ghana; as soon as he was overthrown, the

Asanti (?) gold fields (?) were sold back to the white interests in America and in Britain, especially Britain. All of the products, all of the nationalized government goods are now sold back to foreign interests--America, Europe, Britain, America especially; so it's clear that the ones who are now keeping Nkrumah, are the ones who put him out. We might even need some brothers to come and help fight for Ghana, which, I think, will be good to demonstrate our willingness to fight for our people, wherever they are oppressed--wherever they are suppressed. I think that will be good because people do this all the time. The Americans did it in the Spanish Civil War. Others did it in the 1967 war in the Middle East. If the forces begin to develop quickly in Ghana, then there is the chance of America or Britain might invade. We need to be able to stop the hand of America or Britain from invading, so that if the brothers are now moving in the United States, to say to America: If you step into a fight in Ghana, then your cities are really going to be burned down into something completely (preceding three words indistinct), at least, we'll be able to stay the hand of America, the same thing we're beginning to do now in Britain...."

Malcolm X (Little), mentioned above as Brother Malcolm X, was a militant civil rights activist who was assassinated on February 21, 1965.

- - - - - - -

As to the interview of Eldridge Cleaver and the policy of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (characterized in the Appendix, hereto), the announcer stated that the Afro-American Center at the festival was established by the BPP to serve as an information center and as a gathering place for festival participants interested in the BPP movement. The announcer stated that

visitors to the Center were struck by the revolutionary posters by artist Emory Douglas, whose dramatic illustrations underscore the editorial policy of the BPP newspaper. Douglas, in explaining BPP policy, stated: "The BPP feels that the only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture. BPP culture must be subordinated to your policy. We think the only way to free Afro-Americans is not to think only of Afro-Americans, but of all Africans, and all of suffering humanity. Therefore, our culture starts with trying to find ways of stopping the indecent housing, trying to find a better education, and to make the slogan 'All Power To The People' become a reality. We understand that if you are to have a revolutionary culture, that you must have guns to back that up; that is why the BPP says the guns belong in the hands of the people instead of in the hands of the few who are oppressing us."

The announcer stated that Eldridge Cleaver, the BPP Minister of Information, was at the festival as a guest of the Algerian government; that the Afro-American Center decided to hold open meetings in order to communicate to more people. He said that Cleaver at the Center answered questions from Algerians and black African activists that often struck deep at the roots of existing black revolutionary attempts to change American society as it affects Afro-Americans in this country. Eldridge Cleaver then stated:

"Black people have been growing tired of the tactics and strategy that was practiced by the nonviolent movement..... to oppression...and no amount of demonstrations would make him (the oppressor) change his mind. The Black Panther Party was organized to have our liberation and our security to fight for it and to address ourselves to that need; and to fill the vacuum, the vacuum that was left when the nonviolent movement died."

Cleaver then went to say that he had just received a telephone call from Bobby Seale in Oakland, California,

(Chairman of the BPP), who said that the District Attorney of New York State has stated on television and radio that within forty-eight hours he would have every member of the BPP in the State of New York behind bars. Cleaver said: "This is slightly alarming, a cause for concern, but you have to take that with a grain of salt, because this particular pig is known for lying." Cleaver continued by noting that the telephone call, above, only serves to point out the difference what is happening in Algiers and what is happening in Babylon (America). He said, "We're involved in a struggle that is vital, and we feel torn in two on the one hand, and although on the one hand we're uptight about what's happening in Babylon, we are delighted with the experiences in Algeria at the festival."

The announcer indicated that the ten point BPP program had been distributed at the Afro-American Center, and some of the students objected to the one point in that program which calls for the exemption of blacks from military service. Cleaver explained that this point has to do with the way the United States has separated its many ethnic groups, and has attempted to group all color groups. He said such a situation brings on too many contradictions, and has made it impossible to get them all together in one organization, And for this reason revolutionaries begin to seek another mechanism for achieving their purpose of organizing blacks in their own communities, not in conflict with other peoples of other communities. Cleaver said that all these groups take a revolutionary position, and "we" work through a process of coalition. He said: "We feel this is proper, and we have had a good success which is not in conflict. The United States should have a large anti-war movement composed of the various communities." In response to another question by one of the students, Cleaver stated: "We have a wave of liberation struggle going on, and the countries are being liberated are going through classical struggle...we live in time of neocolonialism--in Africa, Asia, and North America, a specific form of neocolonialism is being

practiced on black people in the United States today that is just as oppressive as being practiced in other parts of the world, namely, black capitalism--this is the way neocolonialism is being manifested in the United States. We have men in the United States today, men like Roy Wilkins, who have joinad the power structure...who can be equated Chiang Kai Shek, Mobutu, Batista, or Tshombe, or all the bootlickers that exist on the face of planet Earth. So, that the phenomena of neocolonialism is something that all revolutionaries should be very familiar with by now."

Cleaver closed his talk by inviting his listeners to the Afro-American for further discussion if they so desired.

[illegible] of
[illegible]
[illegible] to your agency,
[illegible] and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everwhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

10/9/69

airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

To: SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)
REC-128
From: Director, FBI (100-447251) 703

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WF 447
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER

EX-102

Re New Orleans letter dated 9/2/69 regarding rumor local court in Oakland, California, may have erred raising a question as to whether subject Cleaver is actually in violation of the terms of his parole.

By return airtel advise Bureau whether any such information has come to the attention of your office.

MAILED 10
OCT 9 - 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Ness

JRF:meh:egm
(4)

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107-02

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/2/69

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (157-11844) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
COMMIT MURDER

loc in North Korea

00 SF

[redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

1969, provided the following information on 9/23/69:

He stated that he had picked up a rumor that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER may be returning to the United States within the next month or two. Allegedly CLEAVER's attorneys have been in contact with the court in Okeland, Calif., regarding arrangements for CLEAVER's return. According to the rumor, there is an indication that the court may have erred and therefore actually CLEAVER may not have been in violation of the terms of his parole.

Source emphasized that this information was strictly rumor.

Above being submitted for information purposes and any additional information developed will be furnished.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

10/9/69

Airtel to SF, NOF, and

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (88-12329) (RM)
2 - New Orleans
(1: 157-11844)
(1: [redacted]
SMC:dml
(6)

REC 67 100-447251-703

EX-103

3 OCT 6 1969

b2
b7D

FINL SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

ENCLOSURE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON --4--

6:44PM 9-26-69 DEFERRED CLP

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) PLAINTEXT

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, I. O. FOUR TWO THREE NINE, W. F. [redacted] FOUR FOUR SEVEN. UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON. RM- BPP.

AN ARTICLE APPEARING IN "SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE" ISSUE OF SEPTEMBER TWENTYSIX INSTANT, CAPTIONED "CLEAVER REPORTED IN PYONGYANG", DATELINED TOKYO, REPORTED IN PART AS FOLLOWS:

"THE KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY REPORTED YESTERDAY THAT BLACK PANTHER FUGITIVE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IS IN THE NORTH KOREAN CAPITAL OF PYONGYANG AS A DELEGATE TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF JOURNALISTS AGAINST U. S. IMPERIALISM.

"HIS WIFE KATHLEEN IS BELIEVED TO BE WITH HER HUSBAND IN KOREA.

END PAGE ONE

[redacted]

ST-140

100-447251-704

REC-28

17 SEP 30 1969

b6
b7C

TELETYPED TO:

FBI

57 OCT 14 1969

RACIAL INTELSECT.

"IN BERKELEY, A SPOKESMAN FOR BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUATERS WOULD CONFIRM ONLY THAT CLEAVER IS SAFE SOMEWHERE IN THE THIRD WORLD."

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTEL SEPT TWENTYFIVE.

END

WLM FBI WASH DC

CC-
[redacted]: MR. SULLIVAN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

b6
b7C

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 10/9/69

FROM : Legat, London (157-120) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG
IO 4239, WF 447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

(OO: SF) (88-12329)

ReLONairtel 8/29/69.

On 9/30/69 this case was discussed with sources of Legat in Stockholm. The sources advised that no more information has been received indicating subject plans to leave Algeria and go to Sweden. The only information available in this regard was that which appeared in the Danish newspaper, "Dagens Nyheter."

In view of the above this case is being placed in RUC status, to be reopened immediately upon receipt of additional information.

(3) - Bureau
1 - Liaison
1 - London
ACM:cm
(5)

2cc-SF
10-16-69
JRF lcd

100-447251-705

REC-41

OCT 13 1969

FUG. SUP.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

OCT 21 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

1 - [redacted]
(1517 JB)
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

SAC, Chicago

Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO 4239
WANTED FLYER 447
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
RM - BPP

The October 4, 1969, edition of the magazine "The New Republic," contains on page 34 under "Personals," the following advertisement:

> "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WANTED POSTER. Issued by the F.B.I., full 10" x 16" size. Send 50¢ to Cleaver, 325 Sheridan, Wilmette, Illinois 60091."

Chicago should discreetly obtain a copy of the above advertised wanted poster to determine if it is identical to the Bureau's wanted flyer and furnish a copy of it to the Bureau. Chicago should also identify the individual or organization responsible for this advertisement.

1 - San Francisco

ABF:sef
(7)

NOTE:

Cleaver is the Minister of Information of the extremist BPP who currently is in self-imposed exile in Algeria as a fugitive from justice.

MAILED 23
OCT 13 1969
COMM-FBI

IX - 117
REC 11

100-447251-706

19 OCT 13 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

OCT 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SECRET

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-25-2031

10/15/69

Airtel

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. Papich
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

To: SAC, Los Angeles (157-1503)

From: Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 84)

b6
b7C

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ReTOKairtel dated 9/24/69, under the multiple caption of Black Panther Party - International Relations, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver - Fugitive and Unknown Subject. Two copies of referenced airtel along with two sets of the 13 photographs included with the airtel were previously furnished to San Francisco with instructions to confirm the identity of Cleaver and to attempt to identify the unknown subject appearing with Cleaver in several of the photographs. A copy of referenced airtel and the 13 photographs are enclosed herewith for Los Angeles.

[redacted] (S)

subject of Los Angeles files 157-3675 and 164-137. Los Angeles should display the photograph of the unknown subject to authorities at California Institute for Men (CIM), Chino, California, to determine if [redacted] is identical to the unknown subject. Submit the results in form suitable for dissemination.

b1
b6
b7C

Enclosures - 14

1 - San Francisco (157-2871)
1 - Legat, Tokyo (157-7)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

SECRET

ABF:lkk (15)

1 - 100-447251 (Cleaver)

1 - 157-1269[redacted]
1 - 164-651

OCT 3 1969

Airtel to SAC, Los Angeles
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
105-165706 Sub 84

For the information of Los Angeles, Cleaver toured North Korea during September, 1969, and on 9/15/69 took part in a demonstration against the United States at Panmunjon. During the demonstration he was photographed along with the unknown subject who reported also was a member of the BPP.

For the information of San Francisco and Legat, Tokyo, [redacted] and [redacted] escaped from CIM on 1/27/69 and on the following day hijacked a plane to Cuba. Federal warrants have been issued for the arrests of [redacted] and [redacted], Bufile 164-651. Both [redacted] and [redacted] were alleged to be members of the BPP at CIM but investigation by Los Angeles developed no BPP affiliation. They were, however, affiliated with an Afro-American culture group at CIM.

b6
b7C

NOTE:

(S)

The San Francisco Office is attempting to identify the unknown subject who accompanied Cleaver on his North Korean tour. [redacted] the unknown subject may be [redacted] Los Angeles should attempt to confirm the identification.

b1
b6
b7C

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date 10/14/69

Transmit the following in AIRTEL (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)(P)

RE : LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO 4239
WF 447
RM-BPP
UFAG-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

Locin Korea

ReBuairtel to SF, 10/9/69.

No information has been received by this office from informants or other sources regarding rumor local court Oakland, Calif. may have erred regarding CLEAVER's parole violation.

ARMED & EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2- Bureau (100-447251)(AM)
2- San Francisco (88-12329)

RCD/amc
(4)

EX-111

REC- 51 100-447251-707

16 1969

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DATE 06-09-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

FUCK SUP

RACIAL INV. SECT.

b6
b7C

56 OCT 23 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1214327-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 34
Page 6 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 12 ~ b1;
Page 14 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 15 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 16 ~ b7D;
Page 17 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 23 ~ b1;
Page 24 ~ b1;
Page 33 ~ b1;
Page 40 ~ b1;
Page 41 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 42 ~ b1;
Page 48 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 50 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 51 ~ Referral/Direct;
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Page 86 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 87 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 88 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 106 ~ b1;
Page 107 ~ b1;
Page 108 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 109 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 122 ~ b6; b7C;

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 10/22/69

FROM : SAC, DALLAS (157-1163) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO # 4239; WF # 447
RM - BPP; URAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Enclosed for the Bureau is page 85 from the October, 1969, issue of "Bronze Thrills", a Negro magazine published at Fort Worth, Texas. Subject's photograph, description, and usual offer of reward for information leading to apprehension are included.

Twelve Negro I. O. fugitives and one Negro non-I. O. fugitive have been apprehended as a result of publicity through this medium. Should CLEAVER's apprehension so result, Dallas and Bureau should be informed of full details promptly.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

REC- 82

100-447251-709

OCT 23 1969

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (88-12329) (RM)
2 - Dallas (1 - 157-1163)
(1 - 94-160)

JAP/pn
(6)

NOV 4 1969

b6
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

WANTED by the F.B.I. for ASSAULT

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is being sought by the FBI for unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder.

On April 6, 1968, Cleaver, acknowledged Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, while on parole, reportedly led a group of Black Panthers who were seeking to kill an Oakland, Calif. police officer. Cleaver was arrested after the ensuing 90-minute gun battle, his parole was immediately revoked.

A subsequent court action by Cleaver resulted in his release in June, 1968. On Sept. 27th, Cleaver's release was overruled by the District Court of Appeals and he was given until Nov. 27 to appeal.

Cleaver reportedly fled the State of California to avoid confinement and on Dec. 10, 1968, a Federal warrant for his arrest was issued at San Francisco.

Born, Aug. 31, 1935, Little Rock, Ark. Height 5'2" Weight, 185 to 195 pounds. Build, medium. Hair, black. Eyes, brown.

$100 REWARD

BRONZE THRILLS will pay $100 for information leading to the arrest of this criminal.

"With God

All Things Are Possible!" Are you facing difficult problems? **Poor health? Money or Job troubles? Unhappiness? Drink? Worried, Frightened or Afraid in any way? Love or Family troubles?** Would you like more Happiness, Success & "Good Fortune" in Life? If you have any of these problems or others like them, Dear Friend, then here is wonderful **News** of a Remarkable **New Way of Prayer** that is helping thousands to Glorious New Happiness, Comfort & Joy! Just clip this message **NOW** & mail with your Name, Address and 10c. We will rush this Wonderful **New Message of Prayer & Faith** to you by return mail, Absolutely **FREE!** We will also send you **FREE,** this beautiful **GOLDEN CROSS** for you to keep and treasure! **Mail Now to —**

FREE

LIFE-STUDY FELLOWSHIP

BOX F3760 **NOROTON, CONN.**

GOLDEN CROSS

GIRLS GET YOUR MAN!

Goodbye to lonesome nights! Get your man and make him yours forever — thrilling you with the love you want. Learn how you can WIN and KEEP THE MAN YOU LOVE!

"How to Win and Hold a Husband"

Contains frank confidential advice you can learn to use to WIN YOUR MAN. Just send name and address today with $2.49 in full payment. We'll ship postpaid in plain sealed wrapper. If C.O.D., send no money—pay postman $3.39 on del. GUARANTEE: Satisfaction or money back.
LARCH, Dpt 439-A Box 770 Times Sq. Sta., N.Y. 10036

LUCKY LODESTONES

Do you want SUCCESS in money —love affairs? Belief is POWERFUL! Our ANCIENT brand highly MAGNETIC FULL STRENGTH Lodestones are the same type the ANCIENTS may have used to draw and attract toward such other. Every pair unconditionally GUARANTEED ALIVE and GENUINE. Many people make POWERFUL claims for them although we make no supernatural claims and offer these as curios only. Complete in red flannel bag, together with SPECIAL FREE GIFT: alleged Talismanic SEAL OF LUCK, as shown in the 6th and 7th BOOK OF MOSES. Send $2 with order in full payment. If C.O.D., send name and address and pay postman $3 on delivery.

ANCIENT PRODUCTS, Dept. 201-S
504 HICKSVILLE RD., MASSAPEQUA, N. Y. 11758

BUY DIRECT & SAVE OVER 200% ON QUALITY WIGS

Washable! Permanently Curled! Packs in Purse!

Curly Cue S-T-R-E-T-C-H WIG

COMPARABLE VALUE $40
Only $14.95

Tired of going straight? Hail the big coiffure news—the return of the curl! Cheer the big wig news—the wonder S-T-R-E-T-C-H wig that pulls on like a swim cap, pack in your purse, never loses its curl, even after swimming, sunning, riding with the top down. No adjusting, no anchoring—just shake, slip on! Cool, airy stretch base fits all sizes, covers even longest hair. So soft, so silky, no one will dream it's not your own hair. Fully washable. Never needs setting to maintain swirls of curls—or just comb or brush into many captivating new styles! Send hair sample or order: Blonde, Platinum, Salt & Pepper, Red, Brown, Black, Gray, any color! 10-Day money-back guarantee. — ONLY $14.95.

MAIL COUPON TODAY!

UNITED MERCHANDISERS, INC. Dept. 1S48
4 EAST 46th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, 10017

Rush Me: _____ Curly Cue S-T-R-E-T-C-H Wig @ $14.95 each and $1.00 postage and handling.

Color (if not sending hair sample) _____

I enclose $ _____ in cash, check or M.O. Sorry, No C.O.D.'s.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

RA REC 14 100-447251-711

October 28, 1969

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]:

Although I would like to be of assistance in connection with your letter of October 22nd, wanted posters of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver are furnished primarily to law enforcement agencies and specific areas where the most productive coverage can be obtained. I regret it will not be possible to send one to you.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 22
OCT 28 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

JEE:sgc (3)

59 NOV 6 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TRUE COPY

October 22, 1969

Dear Sirs,

I am very interested about the case concerning Eldridge Cleaver. As I am doing a report on him, I was wondering if you would be so very kind as to send me one of those big FBI posters as it would help me immensely. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ [redacted]

P.S. As my report is due November 7, please could you send the poster as soon as possible. Thank you very much.

REC 14 100-447251-711

b6
b7C

OCT 30 1969

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Main Post Office Building
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]

ITC/ajc
10-27-69

Ack. rec'd
10-28-69
LEE/ajc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

October 22, 1969

Dear Sirs,

I am very interested about the case concerning Eldridge Cleaver. As I am doing a report on him, I was wondering if you would be so very kind as to send me one of those big FBI posters as it would help me immensely. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

b6
b7C

P.S. As my report is due November 7, please could you send the poster as soon as possible. Thank you very much.

CORRESPONDENCE

ITC/ayc
10-27-69

Ack: mml
10-28-69
LEE/ayc

mml/ec

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-16-2006

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 10/24/69

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (88-256) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE
I.O. 4239, WF 447
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO:SF)

Re Paris let 10/23/69.

[redacted] b7D

We have asked [redacted] to keep us advised of any further information received.

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) DATE: 4-24-89~~

~~Class. By 1428 AG~~

~~Date of Review OADR~~

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Paris
NWP:AM
(4)

CLASS. & EXT. BY 638 SVT/AG
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10-24-96

100-447251-712

EX-114

REC 37

OCT 31 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XEROX
NOV 13 1969

NOV 18 1969

b6
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-A42231

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/23/69

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (88-256) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE
I.O. 4239, WF 447
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO:SF)

ReBucab 7/30/69.

[redacted] are alert to our interest in subject and any information received by them will be furnished to us. b7D

Recent publicity appearing in the International Herald Tribune, Paris, on 10/13/69, which undoubtedly appeared in the U. S. press indicated that CLEAVER was interviewed by the press in Moscow enroute back to Algiers from North Korea.

We will continue to be alert for information of interest and advise the Bureau.

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Paris
NWP:AM
(4)

b6
b7C

REC-35

166-447251-713

ST. 109

8 OCT 29 1969

1-SF
R/S 10/3/69

61 NOV 18 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (105-165706-Sub 84) DATE: 10/20/69

FROM : Legat, London (105-4035) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
RM

ReBuairtel 9/23/69.

On 10/10/69 [redacted] while in London, gave me [redacted] The enclosed LHM [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Where subjects of other Bureau files have been mentioned, it will be noted that copies of this letter and LHM have been designated for these files.

9 - Bureau (Enc. 10)
(cc: 100-439190 - SCAN-SNCC
100-447251 - LEROY CLEAVER
157-14072 - [redacted]
157-13656 - [redacted]

1 ENCLOSURE

b6
b7C

1 - Liaison (Enc. 1)(sent direct)
6 - London
(cc: 105-4035
100-4639
157-120
157-150
157-138
105-3643

JTM:vw
(16)

100-447251-
NOT RECORDED
1 NOV 17 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-84-80

NOV 19 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AJC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/21/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2871)

SUBJECT: "CHANGED"
BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;
[redacted]
RM - BPP

Title of instant communication is being "Changed" to include the name [redacted] in place of Unknown Subject.

b6
b7C

ReBu 0-7 dated 10/9/69 and Legat, Tokyo airtel dated 9/24/69.

Enclosed herewith are 14 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. A copy of the LHM is being forwarded to the Los Angeles Office, office of origin for [redacted]

Special Agents of the FBI who observed CLEAVER are [redacted] and [redacted]

Ref-3LHM. Tokyo

IRS, STCZA

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NIS~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, ~~[illegible]~~
HOW FORW: RS
DATE FORW 10/29/69
BY:

100-447251

NOT RECORDED
180 NOV 17 1969

1-804

REC 46

EX-112

105-165706-84-81

2-Bureau (Enc. 14) (RM)
1-Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (RM)
3-San Francisco
(1-157-2871)
(1-157-4324) (CLEAVER)
(1-157-4380) [redacted]
LSB:kah #9
(6)

OCT 23 1969

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

53 NOV 21 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

105-165706-84-81

NF ACTION INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

October 21, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

Agents of the FBI who have personally observed Leroy Eldridge Cleaver report that the photographs of the two Negroes taken at Panmunjon, Korea, are pictures of Eldridge Cleaver and a young Negro male who is not known to them. Cleaver is the Negro male wearing both a mustache and goatee.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information of the BPP and is presently a fugitive, a warrant having been issued for his arrest for Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement. b6 b7C

The October 13, 1969 edition of the "Independent-Journal", a daily newspaper of San Rafael, California, contained a photograph supplied by UPI cable photograph of two Negro males in Moscow. The news article identified the persons in the picture as Eldridge Cleaver and Byron Booth and stated that the pair were at the Red Square in Moscow during a recent visit to that city on a trip from North Korea to Algeria.

A comparison of the photograph of [redacted] would indicate that he is [redacted]

A federal warrant has been issued for his arrest.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and [redacted]
SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~105-[illegible]~~ 81

~~ENCLOSURE~~ 100-447251
ENCLOSURE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. W. Evans
Mr. Mohr
Mr. [illegible]
Mrs. [illegible]
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-16-2006

WASHINGTON-----8-----

7:32 PM URGENT 10/24/69 JXR

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK PLAINTEXT

N EW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAN FRANCISCO 2P

Class. by 9-1430

Date of Review OADR 6-12-84

STEWART EDWARD ALBERT, SM - ANA (KEY ACTIVIST), SF ONE ZERO ZERO DASH FIVE SIX ZERO SIX SIX, BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE DASH EIGHT NINE TWO THREE ONE, NEW YORK ONE ZERO FIVE DASH FOUR TWO ONE TWO TWO; [redacted] AKA, SM - ANA, SF ONE ZERO ZERO DASH SIX ONE TWO EIGHT TWO, BUFILE ONE ZERO ZERO DASH FOUR FIVE ONE EIGHT ZERO TWO; LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ETC., SF ONE FIVE SEVEN DASH FOUR THREE TWO FOUR, BUFILE ONE ZERO ZERO DASH FOUR FOUR SEVEN TWO FIVE ONE, NY ONE ZERO ZERO DASH ONE SIX ONE THREE TWO ONE.

(U)

100-447251-

ON OCTOBER TWENTY FOUR INSTANT, [redacted] ADVISED THAT HE HAS LEARNED THAT SOME TIME BETWEEN OCTOBER FIFTEEN LAST AND TODAY, SUBJECTS ALBERT AND [redacted] ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE FLOWN TO ALGIRERS, ALGERIA, FOR THE PURPOSE OF MEETING SUBJECT CLEAVER.

RECORDED 200 OCT 31 1969

END PAGE ONE

cc Rosen

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 4-24-84

58NOV 12 1969

b6
b7C
b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-89231-51

INFORMANT STATED THAT HIS SOURCE IS [redacted] REPORTED THAT ALBERT AND [redacted] EXPENSES WERE BEING PAID BY AN UNKNONW [redacted] STATED THAT ALBERT AND [redacted] WERE GOING TO BRIEF CLEAVER ON THE STATE OF THE RADICAL MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ANDPOSSIBLY BRING MESSAGES TO AND FROM CLEAVER. OTHER THAN THIS, HOWEVER, PURPOSE AND DURATIION OF TRIP UNKNONW. (U) EFFORTS TO DATE TO OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING SUBJECT'S TRAVEL ITINERARY NEGATIVE. THESE EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE AND THE BUREAU KEPT ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

b6
b7C
b7D

NEW YORK ALERT APPROPREATE SOURCEW TO SUBJECT'S POSSIBLE TRAVEL THROUGH NEW YORK.

ALBERT AND CLEAVER ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

NSM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc. Tex. Tech

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) DATE: 10/27/69

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13995)(RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BPP

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover is a tape recording of a speech at Syracuse, New York, by subject.

The tape recording of the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech was obtained from [redacted] in San Diego by [redacted] furnished the tape saying only that it was a tape recording at Syracuse, New York, by CARMICHAEL.

No transcript of this speech is being made at San Diego as it is not known whether the speech was previously recorded and transcribed whenit was made.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

100-446080-2374

(3) - Bureau (RM)
(1 - Package)(Attn: Room 7114)(RM)
2 - San Diego
(1 - [redacted]

b2
b7D

EMP:bef
(5)

Speech is only Eldridge Cleaver Criminal Record is in SD for Innocently

b6
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

EX 104

REC 92 ~~100-446080-2374~~

~~NOV 10~~
~~18 OCT 30 1969~~

Resub - file
Recd 100-447251 (Cleaver)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED
150 NOV 20 1969

53 NOV 21 1969

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

10/28/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (P)

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
IO 4239, WF 447
USAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER, RAPE AND
ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON;
RM - BPP
OO: San Francisco

Enclosed are fourteen (14) copies of an LHM relating to the captioned individual reflecting his apparent current residence in Algiers.

The LHM has been classified confidential to protect the identity of the source. The source utilized is SF T-16, the permanent symbol designation for [redacted]. b2 b7D

IRS, ST, CIA

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NIC~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, ~~CRD, RAO~~ FBI
HOW FORW: RE
DATE FORW 10/28/69
BY: ACF

ST-109
REC-81

100-447251-715

(2) - Bureau (100-447251) (RM) (Encs. 14)
3 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-4324) (LEROY CLEAVER)
(1 - 88-12329) (LEROY CLEAVER)
(1 - 157-2871) (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

JAC:ajz
(5)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NOV 18 1969

b6 b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

October 28, 1969

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-16-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SF T-16, who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on October 24, 1969, that he had received information that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver was presently residing at the Aliete Hotel in Algiers. Source further informed that an individual desiring to contact Cleaver can telephone the Ministry of Information of the Black Panther Party in Algiers, telephone number 603-525 and leave word for Cleaver to contact them and he will then do so, if he so desires.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Pnather Party (BPP) and is currently in a fugitive status from the United States.

A characterization of the BPP is attached.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-447251 - 715

ENCLOSURE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

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Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

FD-86 (Rev. 5-22-64)

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 06-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-16-2031

Date: 11/3/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE;
UFAP-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 6 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is furnished for San Francisco for information. (S) b1

The confidential informant is [redacted] He advised that in the event additional pertinent information is received, it will be immediately made available to the FBI.

The LHM is classified "Confidential-No Foreign Dissemination" in accordance with specific Bureau instructions regarding information received from this informant.

5 Xerox

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV., ST, CIA
DEPT: ISD, [redacted] IDIU-CD
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW 11/12/69
BY: ABF/[illegible]

3-Bureau (Encls. 6) (RM)
(1-Foreign Liaison Unit)
1-San Francisco (88-12329) (Info) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1-NY [redacted] (INV) (S)
1-NY 100-161321 (43)

SECRET

BKK:mfw (312)
(6)

NOV 4 1969

b1

54 NOV 18 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No

New York, New York
November 3, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 06-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHS
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-16-2031

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Eldridge Cleaver

(C)

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~Group I
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL 44-7301-716

SECRET

DATE: 06-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/[redacted]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-16-2031

b6
b7C

SAC, WFO 11/4/69

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK NATIONALIST
BUFILE: 100-446080
WFO FILE: 100-43503

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
BUFILE: 100-447251

(S)

[redacted]

(S)

b1

ORIGINAL FILED IN

This is furnished for your information at this time. (S)

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

PEN:sef
(8)

SECRET

NOTE:

Information referred to in this communication was furnished to Bureau Liaison Representative, Sam Papich. Stokely Carmichael, a well-known black extremist, currently resides in Conakry, Guinea. Eldridge Cleaver, a Bureau fugitive and leader of the extremist BPP, is also residing abroad.

57 NOV 17 1969

DOWNGRADED TO

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
DATE: October 28, 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

b6
b7C

TO: Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

FROM: S. J. Papich

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTER

[redacted]

b1

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-447251

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Racial Intelligence Section.

1 - [redacted]
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

b6
b7C

100-447251

SJP:crk
(4)

NOT RECORDED
- 1969

DATE: 06-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-16-2031

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

NOV 4 1969

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-16-2006

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 26) DATE: 11/4/69

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4209) (157-2323) (157-3675)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;
[redacted]
RM - BPP

b6
b7C

Re Bureau 0-7 dated 10/9/69, Legat Toyko airtel dated 9/24/69, and San Francisco letter and Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) dated 10/21/69, to the Bureau. (U)

Enclosed herewith are 14 copies of a LHM captioned as above, suitable for dissemination. Three copies are enclosed for San Francisco.

Investigation at Chino, California, conducted by SA [redacted]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) BY RYC DATE 1-22-79

~~CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAH/amg EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2 on 10-12-78 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-26-612

2 - Bureau (Enc. 14) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 3) (RM)
3 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-4209)
(1 - 157-3675)

RHR/gak
(7)

XEROX
NOV 18 1969

100-447251-
NOT RECORDED
160 NOV 18 1969

ENCLOSURE

NOV 25 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Los Angeles, California
November 4, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;
[redacted]
RACIAL MATTER - BPP

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix.

On October 27, 1969, [redacted] of the California Institute for Men (CIM), Chino, California, observed photographs of two Negro males taken at Panmunjon, Korea. b6 b7C

The above mentioned officials advised the male Negro with the moustache, wearing a white turtle neck sweater, and medalion is [redacted] on January 27, 1969.

[redacted] A Federal Warrant has been issued for his arrest.

The October 25, 1969, issue of the Black Panthers "Black Community" news service, a weekly publication, originating in San Francisco, California, on page 14, carried

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;
[redacted]
RACIAL MATTER - BPP

b6
b7C

an article written by Byron Booth, Deputy Minister of Defense, International Staff, Black Panther Party. The article pertained to a meeting at Pyongyang, North Korea, on September 18 - 24, 1969. The article contained photographs captioned Eldridge and Byron. The photograph of the individual captioned [redacted] appears identical to [redacted] identified in the Panmunjon, Korea, photographs.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, is a fugitive, and a warrant has been issued for his arrest for unlawful flight to avoid confinement.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND [redacted] SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP)was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in conrection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

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b7C

SAC, San Diego

November 14, 1969

Director, FBI (100-447251)

1 - [redacted]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO 4239, WF 447
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
RM - BPP
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ReSDlet dated 10/27/69 captioned "Stokely Carmichael, RM - BPP," a copy of which is enclosed for San Francisco and is self-explanatory.

The tape recording furnished to the Bureau by referenced letter is a recording of a speech by Cleaver and not a speech by Stokely Carmichael. It is being returned to San Diego under separate cover and San Diego should make a transcript of the speech and furnish copies thereof to the Bureau and San Francisco.

1 - San Francisco (Enclosure) (100-55520)

1 - San Diego (Sent separately with package)

1 - 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)

ABF:ekw
(7)

NOTE: San Diego obtained above recording from informant who indicated that it was a speech by Stokely Carmichael. The speech is, in fact, one made by Eldridge Cleaver. San Diego should make a transcript of it for the Bureau and San Francisco.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-446080

REC-82 100-447251-716

19 NOV 17 1969

MAILED 23
NOV 14 1969
COMM-FBI

51 NOV 24 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

100-447251-719

CHANGED TO

63-14846-X

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

12/1/69

~~CODE TO LEGATS~~ PLAINTEXT TO SACS

~~CABLEGRAM TO LEGATS~~
TELETYPE TO SACS

URGENT
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
1 - [redacted] Room 5716)

b6
b7C

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 1 1969
825PM REW
ENCIPHERED

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FBI
DEC 1 1969
755 PM MKA
TELETYPE

~~TO LEGATS BERN~~
~~BONN~~
~~LONDON~~
~~PARIS~~
~~ROME~~
TO SACS ATLANTA (164-96)
LOS ANGELES (164-137)
SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, I.O. FOUR TWO THREE NINE, UNLAWFUL FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO, BUFILE ONE ZERO ZERO/FOUR FOUR SEVEN TWO FIVE ONE.

[redacted] - FUGITIVE; [redacted] - FUGITIVE, HIJACKING OF NATIONAL AIRLINES FLIGHT SIX FOUR, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, TO MIAMI, FLORIDA, ONE TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYNINE, CAA - PIRACY, OO: LOS ANGELES, BUFILE ONE SIX FOUR/SIX FIVE ONE.

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b7C

[redacted] - FUGITIVE; [redacted]

[redacted] AKA - FUGITIVE, HIJACKING OF TWA FLIGHT FOUR NINE SIX, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, TO MIAMI, FLORIDA, TWELVE ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT, CAA-PIRACY; KIDNAPING, OO: ATLANTA BUFILE ONE SIX FOUR/FIVE SIX THREE.

EX 110 REC 17 100-447251-721

19 DEC 2 1969

1 - (100-447251)
1 - (164-651)
1 - (164-563)
PAM:jmb
(7)

NOTE: Legat, Madrid, does not have facilities to receive cablegram at this time. This information being furnished Legat, Madrid, through military telephone at no cost to Bureau. Cleared with SA [redacted] Foreign Liaison, by SA [redacted] Division 5 to handle phone call.

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Holmes
Gandy

54 DEC 8 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☑

59 JAN 7 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 164-651, 164-563

CABLEGRAM TO BERN
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

STATE DEPARTMENT RECEIVED CABLEGRAM NOVEMBER TWENTYEIGHT, LAST, FROM U.S. EMBASSY, ALGIERS, INDICATING CLEAVER AND INDIVIDUALS BELIEVED IDENTICAL WITH HIJACKERS WHO FORCED PLANES TO CUBA, [redacted] b6 b7C SUBMITTED PREPARED APPLICATIONS TO THAT AMERICAN EMBASSY FOR PASSPORTS TO RETURN TO U.S. AND STRAIGHTEN OUT LEGAL SITUATIONS.

STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., ADVISED EMBASSY TO ISSUE SUBJECTS CERTIFICATES OF IDENTITY FOR RETURN TO U. S. ONLY, HOWEVER, NO PASSPORTS. STATE DEPARTMENT IN CONTACT WITH FEDERAL AVIATION OFFICIALS AND U. S. MARSHAL AS TO MANNER IN WHICH SUBJECTS CAN BE SAFELY RETURNED BY AIR TO U.S.

ACCORDING TO JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, NO DIRECT FLIGHTS TO U. S. FROM ALGIERS. ITALY AND PARIS AIRLINES ARE MOST LOGICAL TRANSPORTATION TO BE USED BY SUBJECTS. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT WILL PROVIDE ANY ESCORT FROM ALGIERS TO EITHER ITALY OR FRANCE. MATTER REGARDING TRAVEL OF SUBJECTS FROM ALGIERS BEING HANDLED BY STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., AND U. S. EMBASSY, ALGIERS.

COPIES OF CLEAVER'S IDENTIFICATION ORDER FOUR TWO THREE NINE PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED LEGATS AND CONTAINS HIS DESCRIPTION.

b6
b7C

CABLEGRAM TO BERN
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[redacted]

CALIFORNIA, WERE SERVING TIME [redacted] ARE SOUGHT ON FEDERAL WARRANTS ISSUED JULY THIRTY, LAST, AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, CHARGING CRIME ABOARD AIRCRAFT - PIRACY AND KIDNAPING. [redacted] IS NEGRO MALE, DOB [redacted] SIX FEET, ONE EIGHT FIVE POUNDS, DARK COMPLEXION, BLACK HAIR, BROWN EYES, BULLET WOUND SCAR RIGHT LEG AT KNEE, FBI NUMBER [redacted] DESCRIBED NEGRO MALE, BORN [redacted] FIVE SEVEN, ONE FIFTY POUNDS, BLACK HAIR, BROWN EYES, DARK COMPLEXION, TATTOO [redacted], FBI NUMBER [redacted].

[redacted] DESCRIBED MALE NEGRO, DOB [redacted] SIX ONE, ONE FIFTYFIVE POUNDS, BROWN EYES, BROWN HAIR.

STATE DEPARTMENT CABLEGRAM CONTAINED NO INFORMATION RELATIVE TO FUGITIVE [redacted] NEGRO FEMALE, DOB [redacted], FIVE FIVE, ONE TWENTY POUNDS, BLACK HAIR (AFRO STYLE) WHO WAS [redacted] ACCOMPANIED [redacted] IN HIJACKING.

CABLEGRAM TO BERN
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

COPIES OF FINGERPRINTS, IDENTIFICATION RECORDS AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF FUGITIVES, EXCEPT CLEAVER, WILL BE FORWARDED TO ALL LEGATS.

ABOVE BEING FURNISHED FOR YOUR INFORMATION. LEGATS KEEP BUREAU ADVISED IN EVENT ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED RELATIVE TO FUGITIVES LEAVING ALGIERS.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop

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Holmes
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TO : Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: November 21, 1969

FROM : G.C. Moore

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: RALLY, NOVEMBER 11, 1969,
COMMEMORATING WASHINGTON, D.C.,
RESIDENTS KILLED IN VIETNAM
RACIAL MATTERS

You were previously advised a black anti-Vietnam war rally was held 11/11/69 in Washington, D.C., in commemoration of local residents killed in Vietnam. A racial source of our Washington Field Office recorded speeches made and a few of the remarks made are set forth with additional details concerning the rally.

The rally, held at the WUST Music Hall, Ninth and V Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., was organized by the Coalition of Blacks Against the War in Vietnam. The crowd ranged from 50 persons at the beginning to about 250 at 6:00 p.m. Among the speakers were: Reverend David Eaton, Pastor of All Souls Unitarian Church; Reginald Harvey Booker, a black militant employed by the General Services Administration and chairman of the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis; Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, former member of the Washington, D.C., City Council and representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); and Al Carroll and Donald Lee Cox, Black Panther Party (BPP) national leaders. [redacted]

The speakers denounced United States policy toward Vietnam and were critical of blacks participating in the white man's war. Booker made antiwar statements and urged blacks to join to fight for liberation of black people. BPP leader, Carroll, described oppression by police of the BPP and said about 35 Panthers had been killed since 1/17/68. He stated, "The war is going on right here at home. All power to the people. . .Be strong and intensify the struggle." BPP leader, Cox, denounced capitalism and said Eldridge Cleaver, BPP Minister of Education, (Bureau fugitive presently out of United States) was negotiating with North Vietnam for exchange of imprisoned BPP "political prisoners" for U.S. Prisoners of War and said the new slogan would be "Pilots for Panthers."

100-447251-722

NOT RECORDED
183 DEC 1 1969

This information was disseminated to the Internal Security Division, Inter-Division Information Unit and the Special Interdivisional Unit of the Criminal Division of the Department, Secret Service, General Services Administration, and military intelligence agencies.

ACTION:

For information.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6133-181

COPY MAILED
(6)
DEC 1 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 06-16-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

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TO : Mr. Gale

DATE: 12/1/69

FROM : A. B. Eddy

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE;
FUGITIVE - FUGITIVE;
IDENTIFICATION ORDER #4239 - FUGITIVE
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
PLANE HIJACKERS
CRIME ABOARD AIRCRAFT - PIRACY

Murray Stein, Extradition Officer, Justice Department, advised on 12/1/69 that State Department, Washington, D. C., had received cablegram 11/28/69 from U. S. Embassy at Algiers indicating Cleaver and the above three plane hijackers had appeared at the Thanksgiving Day reception for American citizens at the U. S. Embassy, Algiers. According to the cablegram, all four individuals submitted prepared applications for passports for return to the U. S. to straighten out their legal situations.

Mr. Stein advised he has furnished State Department with background concerning crimes for which the fugitives are sought, which information was obtained from Bureau reports previously disseminated to Justice Department. State Department is reportedly now in contact with Federal Aviation Agency officials and U. S. Marshal's office concerning manner in which subjects can be safely returned by air to the U. S.

REC 94 100-447251-723

For background, Cleaver was the minister of information of the Black Panther Party who was involved in a gun battle on April 6, 1968, with Oakland, California, police officers. He was on parole at the time and after the incident his parole was revoked. A Federal warrant was issued charging him with unlawful flight to avoid confinement, and our investigation discloses Cleaver fled to Cuba and was last known to be residing in Algeria. both allegedly Black Panther members hijacked a National Airlines Flight from New Orleans to Havana, Cuba. Federal process is outstanding for both in Los Angeles, California, charging crime aboard aircraft.

DEC 2 1969

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton
1 - Mr. Gale
1 -
1 -
1 -
1 - 100-447251
1 - 164-651
1 - 164-571

PAM: jmb

56 DEC (14) 1969

CONTINUED - OVER

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Memorandum to Mr. Gale
Re: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

[redacted] Negro male, on 12/1/68 hijacked a commercial flight en route from Tennessee to Florida and forced pilot to fly to Cuba. Federal indictment was returned Atlanta, Georgia, charging [redacted] with aircraft piracy.

ACTION: 1. Offices directing investigations regarding the above four fugitives have been alerted to recent developments.

2. Matter regarding possible return of the fugitives to the U. S. will be closely followed with Justice and State Departments.

(S) [redacted] (8-28-69)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-108

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 06-19-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-19-2031

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 11/26/69

FROM : Legat, Madrid (157-3) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIGE CLEAVER - FUG.
I.O. #4239; W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Reference: Legat, London, airtel 8/29/69, with enclosure.

b1

(S)

Remarks: [redacted] the Bureau and San Francisco will be immediately advised.

(S)

REC-23

100-447251-724

Acc-SF
12-10-69
JRF

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - San Francisco, Info.)
1 - Madrid
VVK:eim
(4)

18 DEC 5 1969

SECRET

FUGITIVE SUP.

RACIAL INVEST.

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59 JAN 7 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Legat, Bern /69

Director, FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE, I.O. #4239
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO: San Francisco

[redacted] - FUGITIVE;
[redacted] - FUGITIVE;
CAA - PIRACY
OO: Los Angeles

[redacted] - FUGITIVE;
[redacted] aka - FUGITIVE
CAA - PIRACY; KIDNAPING
OO: Atlanta

b6
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Re Bureau cablegram 12/1/69.

Enclosed are two copies each of photographs, fingerprints, and Identification Records of [redacted] and [redacted]

Additional information will be forwarded concerning [redacted]

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

Enc. (12)

2 - Bonn - Enc. (12)
2 - London - Enc. (12)
2 - Paris - Enc. (12)
2 - Rome - Enc. (12)

1 - (100-447251)
1 - (164-651)
1 - ~~(164-563)~~ 164-571

MAILED 23
DEC 8 - 1969
COMM-FBI

EX-117

REC-95

100-447251-705

19 DEC 8 1969

164-651-

164-571-

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PAM: jmb
(14)

51 JAN 14 1970

59 DEC 1 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NOT FILED IN CEIL

1 - [redacted] 11/20/69
Rm. 804, 9th & D

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airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

To: SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE
IO# 4239
WF# 447
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER; RAPE;
ASSAULT WITH DEADLY WEAPON;
RM-BPP
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re San Francisco airtel dated 10/31/69 captioned, "Black Panther Party - International Relations, RM-BPP," San Francisco file 157-2871, indicating information concerning subject Cleaver's possible travel to Sweden, and a request that State Department contact appropriate Swedish authorities concerning the admittance of Cleaver to that country.

For information San Francisco, the U. S. Department of State has previously issued instructions to the Embassy at Stockholm concerning the action to be taken by the Embassy in the event Sweden should permit subject Cleaver to enter that country. Copies of such communications, both from the American Embassy, Stockholm, as well as the State Department reply, have been furnished to the San Francisco Office.

REC 78 100-447251-726

1 - 105-65706 - Sub. 84

DEC 10 1969

MAILED 10
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59 JAN 7 1970

Airtel to San Francisco
Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

In view of this matter having already been considered by the U. S. Department of State and instructions issued to the Embassy at Stockholm, no further action will be taken at this time in connection with Cleaver's possible travel to Sweden.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

DATE: 11-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1, 6) 11-25-2031

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-13-2006

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

December 9, 1969

1 - Mr. Rosen 1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore 1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted] 1 - [redacted]

G. C. Moore

b6
b7C

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted]

b1

By letter dated 12-6-69, addressed to Dr. Henry Kissinger at the White House with copies for the Director, the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, [redacted]

[redacted] We recently received information that Cleaver [redacted] and [redacted] filed applications for passports to return to the U.S. with the U.S. Embassy in Algiers on 11-27-69. The State Department has advised that certificates to return to the U.S. will be issued to these individuals but not passports.

b1
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b7C

100-447251

1 - 100-447251 (Cleaver)
105-165706 Sub 84
ABF:hls
(11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DEC 17 1969

CONTINUED - OVER

59 JAN 7 1970

SECRET

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
105-165706 Sub 84

ACTION:

For information. [redacted] being furnished to appropriate offices (S) and previous instructions regarding foreign influence of the BPP will be reiterated in light of this information. b1 No further dissemination is being made [redacted] (S)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI, (100-447251) DATE: 12/15/69

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (157-526) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
IO 4239 WF 447
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
RM-BPP
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Bureau letter to San Diego, November 14, 1969.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a Letterhead Memorandum containing a transcript of a speech made by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER at Syracuse, New York, date not known. A tape recording of the speech by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is being forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover.

Copies of the Letterhead Memorandum are being made available to the office of origin, San Francisco, and to Albany inasmuch as the speech was made at Syracuse, New York.

The source who made available this tape recording was [redacted] who has asked that his name be kept confidential. b2 b6 b7C b7D

The enclosed Letterhead Memo is being classified confidential inasmuch as, knowledge that this tape recording is in the hands of the FBI on the part of the Black Panther Party might enable them to identify its source.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

1-810D
1-810-D

REC 18 EX-117

100-447251-727

3-Bureau (Encs-11) (RM)
(1-Package Attention, Room 7114) (RM)
2-San Francisco (Encs-2) (RM)
1-Albany (Enc-1) (Info)
1-San Diego

15 DEC 19 1969

EMP:mjt
(7)

11 ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC, SERV., CIA, ST
DEPT: ISD, [redacted], IDIU, CD (510a)
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW 12/30/69
BY: WHA/mb
1cc Let + Hm 804D

FUGITIVE
RACIAL INTEREST

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Diego, California
December 15, 1969

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past made available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation at San Diego, California, a tape recorded copy of a speech by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER at Syracuse, New York, on a date believed to be the 26th or 27th, month and year not known. The tape was made available to source by [redacted]

b6
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b7D

A transcript of the speech by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER follows:

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was introduced by an unidentified individual who said "I don't think our next speaker needs much introduction. Just for those of you who have got a pencil and want to write it down, he is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, Presidential Candidate for the New York Peace and Freedom Party, member of the state Steering Committee of California Peace and Freedom Party, author of the book "Soul on Ice" and now speaker before this audience.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER:

"What's that to talk about? I was getting up tight when he started talking you know.. I'm going to talk in my sleep. Well we're still not free. I don't see any of the policemen in here. I know they must be here somewhere. I know my Parole Officer has some of his friends in here somewhere. So I'm going to start off by saying that I abhor violence. That I'm in favor of gun control. My parole officer told me he, when I went down to talk to him about whether I could travel anymore, or again, and he said you can do all that, but there's one point that you are going to have to be careful about and you cannot make any statements that are inflamatory that can be construed as advocating violence. So

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-19-2006

CONFIDENTIAL

100-447251-727

ENCLOSURE

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

I told him that I abhor violence and that I would always say something about that. So if any pig is here who intends to inform that other pig who calls himself my parole officer tell him that I said he's a pig. Just tell him that. It's getting very difficult these days to deal with this whole revolutionary situation. Now we already have more laws on the books than they really need, but they're considering passing other laws. Does anybody know what the situation is? Do you know what we can do and what we can't do or what we can say and what we can't say? I don't know that anymore, and I don't have enough time to go and research all the laws. So I'm in the position that the only thing I can say about that is f--- it. F--- that. Because it seems to me that there is some type of game going on. If the people in a country don't know what the law is and if the pigs of the power structure are the only ones that know what's going on, and sometimes I wonder if they know what they're doing. I don't think that they do. I don't think that they really understand what they're doing. I think that they are so hungup on maintaining their positions, maintaining the power of the Democratic Pig Party, of the Republican Pig Party, they are so hungup on that, that all that they can see when they look around is what's the next best move to make for the party. They put the interest of the party above the welfare of the people . So check in that situation now I'm coming to that conclusion. We take the position that the only way that the people can deal with this is take it in the street. The Legislature, the Congress and even the courts of this country have become non-functional for the people. The way the things have been going in this country, the worlds on the brink. But it's been on the brink. Some of you I can see there, what eighteen, nineteen, twenty years old. You've lived in this climate all your life. You don't even talk about the bombs anymore. People have gotten tired of talking about the hydrogen bombs that are hanging over the head of the world. There is no point talking about it anymore. We protested and demonstrated. We have appealed. There are tons and tons of material that have been written to explain why certain things should be done. Why we should get rid of the bombs. Why we should stop oppressing people. Why we should do a whole lot of things, and as the gentleman here was saying that one of the most potent political phenomenon in the country today is the growth of political forces embodied in the little simple pig from Alabama, GEORGIE BOY WALLACE.

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This is a reality. This is a reality. And I think that the reason WALLACE is able to go around and to gain people to support his banner is because the people in this country are confused. I believe that the basic cause of all the s--- that is going on in this country, the basic reason that it's so difficult to really do something about it, is because the people are confused. They are fed lies from the highest level. You heard about the credibility gap. I mean the Democrats started talking about the credibility gap. They accused their standard bearers, the president of this country, of being unreliable when it comes to telling the people what's going on. In fact when his cabinet ministers, his cabinet officers, issue out statements, we are told that we can't really believe what those statements say. That because there are a lot of people in this audience who have been active in various incidents, demonstrations, what have you, that they have had occasion to read about that in the newspapers and to watch it on television, here it on the radio, it seems as though they read about and observed on the TV something that happened someplace else. That what's being reported in fact had nothing to do with what really went on. So that it is no wonder that the people who have been deluged with this type of mis-information for all their lies and really for all of their history, it's no wonder that they don't know what's going on and that when some articulate pig comes along and tells them that the only way to solve this problem is to lick all the Niggers. That because he's been a judge. Because he's been the governor. Because he's been anointed by some crazy preacher or some priest. Because he can go to the White House. Because he's in the White House. Because of all of these things, I mean there's a limit, there's a limit to how people can see through all this. You know you don't have time to analyize all this and there's a tendency to throw up both hands and just go along with the situation. Well, information is the raw material for new ideas. If we get mis-information, we're going to get some brand new funny ideas. And that's the basic problem. That we have to create images, machinery, that we have to develop people who when they talk or when they write, people can have some trust in what they say. And I don't-that it's too hard to have the attitude that GEORGE WASHINGTON was said to have had about that cherry tree. Because we are dealing with something that's much more fundamental then a God damn Cherry tree. We're dealing, were dealing with the continued existence of people on the face of this planet earth. Because the lies that have led to more lies to cover up

the other lies have grown so high that many people don't even know that they're lying when they run down those lies. So that we say that it's time to begin anew. That it's time to stop going along with rhetoric and bull s--- that you cannot endorse. And this is very fundamental in terms of the coalition that the Black Panther Party has made with the Peace of Freedom Party. And I get to shoot a shot at her because she said that before HUEY NEWTON was arrested there was no cause or communications between blacks and white, Black Panther Party and Peace of Freedom Party. I think that a correct statement of that is that we did not recognize that there was a need for that. And it was only when they had HUEY on death row in Alameda County where they had indicted him for first degree murder and where we knew that they wanted to put him in the gas chamber that we had to make a retreat. We had to go inside closed doors and say how we gonna deal with this. Because if there was one thing that we knew, we knew that we would not be able to observe the process of those pigs. Those murderous pigs of Oakland whom we knew out on the streets. Who we know how they are. That we could not allow them to get away with putting HUEY NEWTON in the gas chamber. So how are we going to deal with this? It involved examining where we are, where we were, where we wanted to go, where we were willing to go and who were willing to work and we had to look at that in terms of the program of the party, the ideology of the party. And there was nothing there that precluded a working alliance, a coalition with white people. And we began to understand that with the assumption of the chairmanship of SNCC by Brother STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, a very crucial turning point in the history of the Black liberation struggle had been reached. That Black people were moving to assume control of black organizations. The rhetoric that was developed out of this necessity. The rhetoric was justified. Of course, that had to be explained. There was a lot of white people who were in control of black organizations, that were in control of certain policy making positions and black so that something had to be said to justify that. Because a lot of them didn't understand, I believe in brotherhood, I believe in integration I've been out there on the picket lines, I've sacraficed for all these years and now you're going to kick me out. A lot of people thought that that was chicken s---. A lot of people thought that it was like fundamentally wrong but STOKLEY said very serious, and we have to remind him of this once in a while, that white people, white people should go and

and organize in the white community and black people organize in the black community and when the white people develop something that's functional then we can have a coalition with them, a coalition, a specific coalition for specific purposes. So we have read STOKLEY's speeches. We have heard him speak. We have read his book, and so we quote that to him sometimes and we use that in explaining and justifying the way that we were moving. A speaker comes up and says Babylon, Babylon, and it's so apt because it's falling. It's falling. It's sinking. We're sinking. We're sinking with it. It's tearing us down by a dead weight. By lies, by hypocracy, and by the weight of the blood of the people of the world. Waging a war in your name. Even trying to wage this war in my name. It's a democratic war participated in by the peace-loving American people. We are people who support the underdogs. And it is just recently that we have been able to understand that America is the dog that is keeping the other little dog down. So we say that we recognize that freedom is indivisible. That because it was necessary for them to impose a curfew in Berkeley, that the white people there are involved, we are involved, everybody in this country is involved and as I heard her say one day, She's attributed it as a quote to someone. I don't remember. That if you are not part of the solution you are a part of the problem. And so we say we would rather have more people and we would rather be a part of the solution and not any part of the problem. So I'm stumping for the coalition, I'm stumping for a widening of the coalition, I'm stumping for people to support the petition campaign of the Peace of Freedom Party, and I'm stumping for people to have a little self respect because that's all it's about. That's all human dignity is about. Is about individuals. It's about all of us but it's also about one's own self respect to allow racist pigs in the power structure to s--- on the rest of humanity in our name. That we've got to have enough self respect that we will be willing to lay down our lives and to pick up the gun. And I know this is not really a speech that I should be making to the oppressor country radicals because they're always telling me that, I'm ready for that but my people aren't ready yet. When I tell them ready or not it's here, it's here already. It's not coming it's here. It's here and we have to make the decision whether or not we are gonna go willingly. Whether or not we're going to allow this country to just go openly into fascism. Whether or not we're going to allow the black community to be turned overtly into a concentration camp. But the

black community is saying that all we don't what they going to do and we don't know if we can believe them when they say they going to take care of business. So we gonna have to move in such a way and we gonna have to create such conditions that we can insure that they gonna be involved and that there will be no way out. So that's the other side of the coin, of the coalition, because you have endorsed madmen. Madmen in a time that demands madmen. Which means you've done the right thing, but you better know what you've done because we do have enough time. They haven't programmed to accept the genacide of black people in this country. So we're taking advantage of that time and we're gonna organize the Black Panther Party all the way across this country. We are gonna develop a coalition all the way across this country. We are gonna build the Peace of Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party here in Syracuse and if the Chief of Police and the Mayor here don't like it, they can go to hell or wait to be sent there. That's what it's all about. HUEY NEWTON says that the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology and we believe that people are still people. They have just been put off into different bags and that it's possible to break out of all bags. It is possible to liberate the people of America and to build a new world. They like to make us think that nothing can be done. That this is a gloomy situation. Nothing can be done, trust in your President. They like for us to believe that the war in Vietnam cannot be stopped, that it's complicated and we gotta negotiate but the North Vietnamese won't talk sense. But that war can be stopped right now. If that pig who sits in my seat in the White House. He had nothing to do but pick up one of the telephones and say, Say brother pig in the Pentagon, send out this order. Withdraw the pigs from the Vietnamese community and let the Vietnamese people reconstruct the damage that we have done. That's all that mother f-----s got to say. That's all he's gotta say he a lying when he says anything else. That's right. He's lying. Listen! Hello evil decrepit New Yorker, AVERILL 'RAILROAD' HARRIMAN. He's a lying pig when he comes out of that place where they negotiate every day and say, Well they just won't talk right. He's lying, he's lying, he's lying with a straight face, he's lying looking the camera straight in the face. He could look you in the eyes and lie. He could look his mama in the eyes and lie. But anytime I hear him talk I hear him say oink.

That's all I hear, hear him say oink. Every time he opens his mouth he says oink. And I could not accept any lie that is so phonetically out of harmony with my ears. That the piers of the power structure are oinking to the people and we say that it has to stop, that we gonna put an end to it and that if the pigs don't straighten up their hands and which they probably won't, there has to be some barbecue. There has to be some barbecues, because it's either or. Either you are going to withdraw your oppresive forces from the black community, or we gonna start shooting. Period. Because the oppressor has no right that the oppressed is bound to respect. He's out of order from the beginning. There ain't nothing for him to say. There is nothing to talk about. There ain't no negotiating to be done. Get your boot off my neck or I'm gonna try to snatch your leg off. And don't tell me how to do it. Don't give me no suggestions about how to snatch your leg off cause I know you lying because you want your leg. Don't tell me to do it within the framework of the American tradition, because it is precisely the American tradition that I want to smash. That's right. And don't tell me because I say, Take your foot off my neck that I'm a racist, because you racist this mother f----- you are the one who is telling me. And don't tell me not to say mother f----- because you mother f------ fools dig it. Dig it. Dig it. I recognize that people have those responses and reactions because they love Jesus, or because they say that people who use profanity have a very short vocabulary. Well whatever, mother f----- is a very functional term in the black community. You know that because the family structure of black people in this country has been like tampered with and has always been tampered with, well and somehow the women ended up like the center of the family so that they called that matriarch right, so that a lot of respect for the mother has been developed so that the most repulsive thing that could be done is for a person to be involved in incestuous relationships with his mother. So that when you say you are low-down dirty mother f----- you just sayin man you, you doing the worst thing that a human being can do. And within the context of the political situation the American people are some dirty mother f------. Some dirty mother f------ see. That's what they are because they sit around and say that the majority of the people don't endorse that genocide,

don't endorse that evil, and that just a minority does that? Where is that majority? Where's it at? It's not in this room. It's not down there supporting that muddle headed HUMPHREY, 'MEATHEAD' HUMPHREY, simple mother f----- HUMPHREY. It's not out there supporting mother f----- McCARTHY. It's not out there. It's not out there supporting that dirty mother f----- RICHARD NIXON. And it's not supporting that rich dirty mother f----- ROCKEFELLER. It's not out there. It;s out there confused not knowing who to support because it's a cold s--- on the second day. What do you think that your white brothers are thinking when they look at you and say, People are going crazy. Here they are they're gonna endorse this Nigger, this convict this crazy Black Panther. Yeah America has gone crazy, let WALLACE have it. You see? But everything has been turned inside out and what we have to do is get across to the people that we have been the victims of a peekaboo game and that things have been switched around and they're no longer where we were told they were suppose to be. That we were told that power lies with the people. That this is a government of the people for the people and by the people. And we have to get across that is a fact, it is already a fact that this filthy government is government of the pigs, for the pigs and by the pigs. That's what it is. And the people are in pain, the people are confused. The people are full of fear and they don't know what to do about it. And so we have to say let's try this. Let's try to open up a new chapter. Let's close the door, the cover. Let's close the book. Let's close that chapter on everything else. Let's close the book on American History written by pigs, authorized by pigs, implimented by pigs. Let's fill that book. Let's start another book that begins. Let the first chapter be about the coalition between the Peace and Freedom Party and The Black Panther Party. Let's start a book there. Let's start a new chapter at a moment of desperation. Let's show good faith. Lets say that here is one of the most aliented categories of men, ex-convict. I'm not going to say them other bad things about myself. Let's say we will start this chapter with this cat and that this will be the most profound defense that we could make to the status quo. Because we are telling those pigs who are in power that you are so fowl, that you have disgraced us so much, that we are so ashamed of you and we are so tired of you and we are so determined to get rid

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of you that we endorse ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. And ELDRIDGE CLEAVER will go there and tell them like it is. If you want me to. If you tell me that you will organize the ELDRIDGE CLEAVER Committee and support me and get me out again I'll go down there and slap his mother f----- face. I'll do it. See. I'll do it. I'll do it. But I'm not going to go right now because we got some more work to do. We got to mobilize some more forces. If you help me get HUEY P. NEWTON out I'll do it. If you help me get HUEY P. NEWTON out of jail I'll slap the Presidents face for you. I'll do it. And I hope that they don't think that this is a tricky politics, that I'm trying to scare someone out of winning this election. That he gonna throw in his hand because he don't want his face slapped because he knows that if I slap it. If I slap it, I want to have a trick up my sleeve and take his head. All of that. All of that. And all of this country, all this world. We're not going to conduct the traditional campaign because we're trying to break with tradition. How would I look arguing about increase the appropriation for the military budget. I want to abolish the military budget. I want to pass the gun control law that will take the guns out of the hands of the pigs and give them back to the people. Give them back to the people. I wouldn't mind if every man, every eighteen year old man, had a gun in this country. I think it would be stupid. But I wouldn't mind, because I feel that we could deal with it. Because people are always going to think of surviving and cowboys dealt with it. Everybody on the frontier wasn't involved in those quick draws you know. It seems to me when I see a cowboy picture it's only two or three fools out there playing with them guns and everybody else is checking the s--- out, and if they're waiting they're waiting until ROY ROGERS gets shot by Trigger or somebody. And they go in and just wipe them all out and put the flag back up. There's a lot of difference between 20 million armed black people and 20 million black people armed to the gills. And I say that that's a desirable situation because we feel that as long as this situation exists, That if we have to use the only powers that we have, the only power that can never be taken from anybody, when everything else is taken and that's the power to destroy, the power to disrupt, the power to throw a Nigger into the machinery. And so we say that we believe that every man woman and child on the face of the planet earth has the right to the highest best and the most beautiful life. That technology and human knowledge and wisdom is able to produce period. So we start from there and we don't want to hear anybody saying well you can't see those people there because I have a deed that says that I can do what I want to with that. We don't want to hear about the deeds of

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trust. We don't want to hear about the blue chip stock. It's only paper and it will burn. See. We say this, That the people, that the people have a right to the best because this is all that we know that we have is this life. Those who believe that they could suffer now and give their debt to death. When you go before the throne of the Lord tell him that ELDRIDGE was sincere but he just didn't know. Look at here. Look at here. And maybe those who make it across wouldn't want to mention such things to the Lord, so I want to tell him myself when I get there because if he trys to put me in hell and put some fire on my a-- I'm gonna look around and find some beautiful people there and say lets organize a Black Panther Party and Peace and Freedom Party, ILet's organize the Black Panther Party, and the Peace and Freedom Party, I mean we may make the transition with our machinery intact, you see, because I don't think there is too much that I do that you don't do. So let's mobilize the coalition and let's overthrow this devil. Put him in the fires and he'll barbecue. And If God himself will will such misery for people whom I love, I would say let's deal with him. Let's deal with him and if we could deal with him on that level that we could understand that. Then certainly we can deal with these fool pigs who are running around here thinking that they've got everything uptight. I say that we can deal with it. I say that we can stop this war. We can set a deadline on this war and tell them that on Hiroshima Day, on Nagasaki Day, the people of America want all the American troops out of Vietnam forthwith or we goin to open up another front right here in Babylon. But I, you shouldn't try for that, you shouldn't try for that cause you're not ready for that, Today is the 26th, 27th? you ain't ready for that. See we started thinking about that sometime ago but we didn't get our s--- together right. I'm not going to say we are not ready for that. The only reason that we're not ready for is because we think that there are not enough people ready for it. And there's a conflict involved in that. Because we consider ourselves to be a vanguard organization and a vanguard organization is suppose to educate by example. And actually I'm getting myself in deep. And my parole officer's partner might still be here. That fool J. HOOVER EDGAR. I know he's got somebody here. If he don't he ain't doing his job, because we are subversive to the bull s--- that's going on in this country. Yes we are and we're not scared to say it. We don't mind saying it. And we would hope that they will subpoena us so we would have the pleasure of saying stick your subpoena up your mother f---- a--. And I'm just going on. I'm gonna say to my Parole Officer, that I'm going to quote to you a parable or a

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saying whatever it is that I read while in prison in one of the honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMED's columns in the newspaper and he said that Satan will say when the matter is decided. There I had no authority over you but I call you and you came. You did and you don't have to heed that call. That you have free will and that the people of American have free will. Even though they think that there is some kind of. I'm going to pass that. I'm going to pass that. People of American have free will. We know that they are up against some dirty pigs in the news media. We know that. We know that they are up against some educators who mis-educate. We know that they are up against preachers who lie on Sunday and who will sprinkle holy water on hydrogen bombs. We know that. We know that. But we still say that the people will always be able to rest control of their destiny out of the hands of administrators and public servants, civil servants, who have grown arrogant. Who have grown arrogant and who believe that they own this country. Who believe t that they own the people in this country. The people still have a free will that they can have a thorough house cleaning. That they could sweep the halls of Congress clean. They can put all the pigs in the pigpen. And that they can give the world a new lease on life. That the destiny of the world is in the hands of the American People. That whatever way America goes, the world will go. If America becomes a facist state openly, for everybody, then the whole world will get it. And I think that we have the duty to ourselves and to posterity. To the whole idea of civilization. To run ourselves to death to avert a probable catastrophe. All power to the people. Black power to the black people. Panther power to the Black Panther Party. Peace and Freedom power to the Peace and Freedom Party. Thank you.

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 12/30/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (43-1883) (C)

SUBJECT: UNSUB;
dba CLEAVER
[redacted]

Re Bureau letter to Chicago, 10/14/69, entitled, "LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO #4239, WF 447; UFAC".

On October 31, 1969, a postal money order was sent to CLEAVER using a return address of a confidential Post Office Box used by the Chicago Office. No reply has been received.

The cross directory reflects [redacted] resides at [redacted]

Chicago files reflect numerous security references regarding [redacted] and [redacted] These references do not contain enough information to determine if identical with [redacted]

During the investigation of the Unsub; [redacted] - VICTIM, KIDNAPING case by the Chicago Office, the following information was received regarding [redacted]

EX-111 REC-28 100-447251-729

Another possibility was [redacted] also is connected with [redacted] as well as the [redacted] She works part time at [redacted] stated that this woman had provided her employment while [redacted] was in school. She described [redacted] as having a personality which was somewhat paranoic in nature. She stated that [redacted] might have turned her in with a vindictive motive. She stated that she also felt that knowing [redacted] mind, she felt her to be capable of possibly having a part in the kidnaping. No further reasoning was given concerning this belief. She stated that at the time of the kidnaping, [redacted] had been [redacted]

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago

GMA:jto:mlb
(3)

9 JAN 1 1970

56 JAN 19 1970

FBI

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-01

CG 43-1883

Since no answer has been received regarding the wanted circular of CLEAVER, Chicago is not conducting any further investigation in this case LACB

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AJC JAM/DCG/EHL

1/2/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (88-5033) (RUC)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

On 1/2/70, information was received from Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), San Diego, that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was possibly on a plane from Mexico City to Tijuana, Mexico, and would arrive within the hour. According to INS, they had received this information from Detective [redacted] of the Intelligence Detail, San Diego Police Department (SDPD). A check was made with Detective [redacted] who advised that the information had come to him strictly as a rumor from an unnamed source of his in Los Angeles, who had received it from an unknown newspaper source. b6 b7C

Additional IOs and slick finished photographs were supplied to the Border Patrol and U. S. Customs in San Diego, as well as Mexican authorities, and stops placed in the event CLEAVER should attempt to return to the United States.

REC-47 100-447251-731

A check was made with reliable sources at the Tijuana Airport and it was determined that the only flight on the afternoon of 1/2/70 would arrive at approximately 1:30 p.m. Mexican Immigration checked this flight and advised that not only was CLEAVER not on the plane, but there were no Negroes on this flight. They advised that they would be alert in the event CLEAVER should show up in Tijuana and that no other flights would arrive from Mexico City until tomorrow, 1/3/70.

2 - Bureau
2 - Los Angeles (88-15756)
2 - San Francisco (88-12329)
2 - San Diego (88-5033)
(1 - 157-326)

JAN 8 [redacted]

CFB:mel
(8)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

JAN 12 1970

The Los Angeles Office was telephonically contacted and they advised they had no information as set forth above and, after checking with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), Intelligence Detail, advised that that agency had no information indicating CLEAVER was in Mexico.

The San Francisco Office was telephonically contacted and advised that, according to the latest information they had, CLEAVER was still in Algiers.

It would appear that the above information as to CLEAVER's presence in Mexico is unfounded; however, San Diego will continue to keep border sources and Mexican authorities, as well as racial informants and other logical sources, aware of the possibility that CLEAVER could return to the United States via Tijuana. Should the Bureau or San Francisco have any more recent information concerning CLEAVER's current whereabouts, it would be appreciated if San Diego were advised in view of the current outstanding stops that are being maintained.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

December 24, 1969

REC-93 100-447251-732

EX-112

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]

In reply to your letter of December 18th, wanted posters on Leroy Eldridge Cleaver are furnished primarily to law enforcement agencies and specific areas where the most productive coverage can be obtained. I regret it will not be possible to send one to you.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 24
DEC 24 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.

EFT:vdd (3)

56 JAN 12 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TRUE COPY

[redacted]

December 18, 1969

2-1
fed

Federal Bereau of Investigation
c/o Distribution of Wanted Posters
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send me the largest availuable size wanted poster of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, who is presently being sought by the F.B.I. for Interstate Flight, and Assault with intent to committ murder.

A poster of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is appearing currently in almost every major U.S. Post Office in the country.

Please send me the largest, availuable poster of fugitive Eldridge Cleaver.

Your prompt assistance in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours, EX-114

[redacted]

[redacted]

REC-93 100-[illegible]725/-732

25 DEC 29 1969

8-EPT

TC
12-22-69
116

acknmd
12/24/69
[illegible]

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DOG/EHL

[redacted]

DECEMBER 18, 1969

FEDERAL BEREAU OF INVESTIGATION
% DISTRIBUTION OF WANTED POSTERS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

GENTLEMEN:

PLEASE SEND ME THE LARGEST AVAILUABLE SIZE WANTED POSTER OF LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, WHO IS PRESENTLY BEING SOUGHT BY THE F.B.I. FOR INTERSTATE FLIGHT, AND ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMITT MURDER.

A poster of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is appearing currently in almost every major U.S. Post Office in the country.

Please send me the largest availuable poster of fugitive Eldridge Cleaver.

YOUR PROMPT ASSISTANCE IN THIS MATTER WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

ITC 12-22-69

ack/nm C
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CORRESPONDENCE

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DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

100-447351-753

December 31, 1969

REC- 94

[redacted] Informant

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of December 22nd and the enclosed copy of the article from "True" magazine. The concern which prompted you to furnish this is understood and I appreciate receiving your views.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: We have had cordial correspondence with [redacted] for a number of years. The article is an interview with Eldridge Cleaver, who is well known to the Bureau. The author of article, Don A. Schanche, is on the Special Correspondents List. The "Guardian," formerly known as "National Guardian" is also well known to Bureau.

FMG:mrm (3)

MAILED 24
DEC 31 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
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Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[redacted]

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DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

December 22, 1969

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The enclosed from the January issue of TRUE Magazine is indeed a disturbing and challenging series of statements by Eldridge Cleaver. We have called the interview to the attention of Senator McClellan.

Because we read all the Communist, Black Panther and New Left press, we consider this threat on the life of Senator McClellan to be a serious one; and a serious one for Congress itself to contemplate. In view of the remark of one of the women Panthers arrested in the Los Angeles affair and the declared intent of Cleaver to return and lead the revolution from an underground base, the threats must be taken seriously.

Renee Moore, Los Angeles Black Panther, who surrendered after the "shootout," said: "We gave up because it's not the right time." (GUARDIAN, Dec. 20, Page 3.)

I assume you have both the GUARDIAN and the TRUE. But I felt that it is necessary that the Justice Department be reminded also of the concern of citizens for the safety of our nation when so much of our communications facilities are "playing down" the activities of the revolutionaries and, in some important instances, creating sympathy for the Black Panthers and antagonism against the police.

[redacted]

Most respectfully yours,

[redacted]

[redacted]/ms

ENCLOSURE
"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

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~~5 DEC 24 1969~~

CORRESPONDENCE

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* Nationally honored for the creation and distribution of materials and services emphasizing to the American people the importance of our faith in God, the importance of constitutional government and the importance of private ownership of property.

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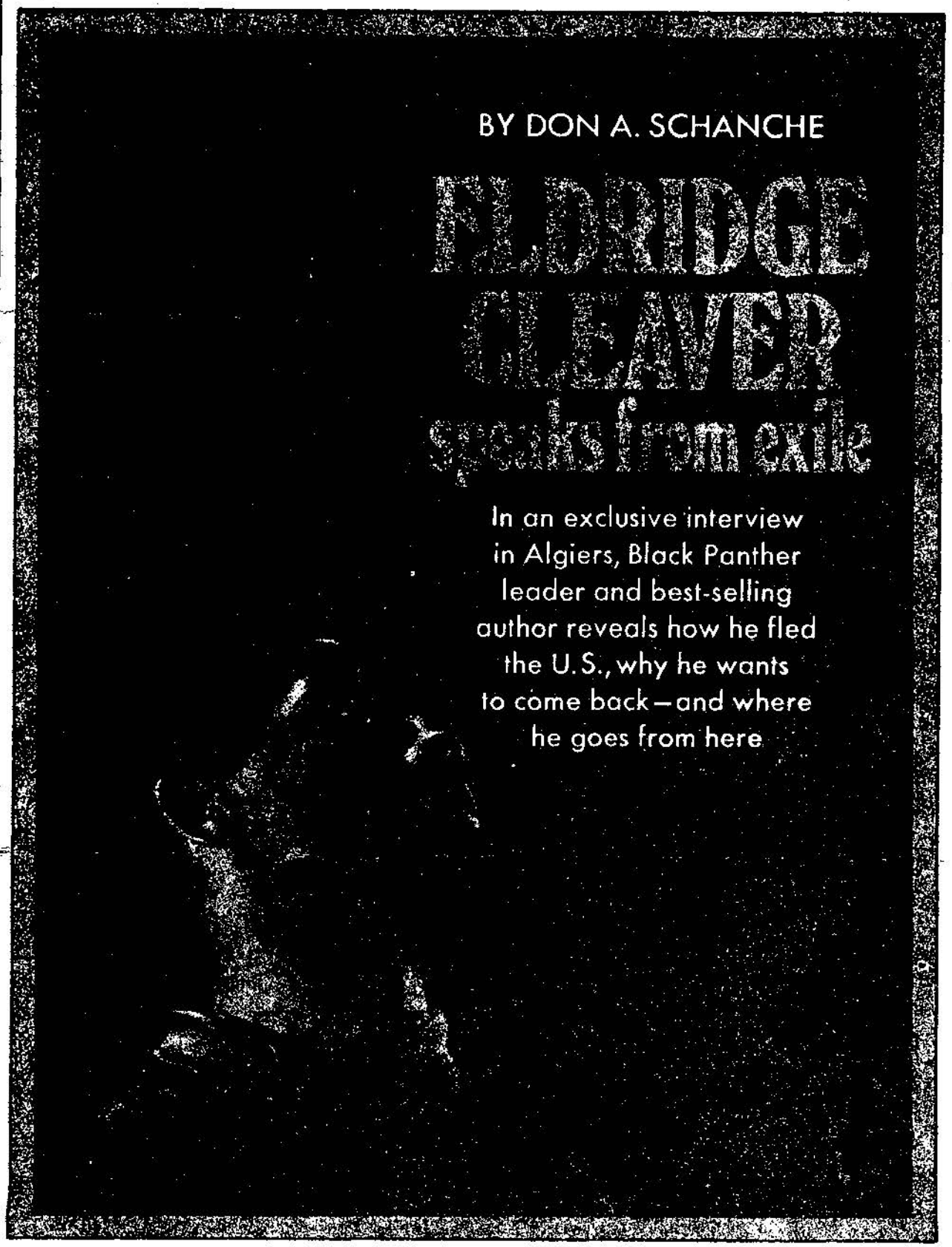
100-447251-233

BY DON A. SCHANCHE

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER speaks from exile

In an exclusive interview in Algiers, Black Panther leader and best-selling author reveals how he fled the U.S., why he wants to come back—and where he goes from here



Exile's life includes dealing with fellow "revolutionists"—at right, with North Korean press attaché; giving interviews, below: leading fellow Panthers Clinton Smith, Byron Booth.

Exile's family consists of wife Kathleen, daughter of a U.S. diplomat; son Maceo, month old when photographed.

Cleaver can hardly wait to come home—where he wants to foment revolution, lead guerrilla warfare, and "take off the head of Senator McClellan"

■ While baby Maceo Cleaver screamed his month-old lungs dry at his distracted mother in the next room of the Algiers apartment, Eldridge Cleaver thrust his finely structured head and broad shoulders forward and spoke calmly of shooting his way into the Congress of the United States, removing the head of Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas, and shooting his way back out again. His three Black Panther lieutenants, all airplane hijackers who, like Cleaver, had left their uncomfortable sanctuary in Cuba for a less secretive and far more pleasant exile in Algeria, North Africa, smiled in anticipation. Then in the next breath this handsome black paradox of the new American revolution quietly decried guns and violence and explained that the thing he detested most about Cuba was the ubiquitous pistol jouncing menacingly from the hip of every petty bureaucrat there. Again the three hijackers nodded and smiled in agreement. Baby Maceo, whom Eldridge has called a "new problem for the pigs," continued his lusty bellowing for milk, or a fresh diaper, or burping. Cleaver's wife Kathleen, to whom the child is definitely a new problem, wasn't sure which. Her mother, Mrs. Albert Neal, the estranged wife of a senior American diplomat, picked up the baby and burped him, rocked him gently in her arms, and tried to ignore the disorder of the sparsely furnished apartment into which her daughter and the exiled Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party had moved only the day before.

"Say, Kathleen," called Eldridge in response to a question from me. (What, I had asked, will be Maceo's full, formal name?)

"Say, Kathleen," he called. "Would you dig Roy Wilkins Cleaver? Or Thurgood Marshall Cleaver? Or James Farmer Cleaver?" He laughed at his own irony.

"Not 'til you turn into a Tom like them," she called back.

"Would you dig it then?"

"That's an insult to me," she said.

"But what if I did do that? Would you dig it?"

"No," she laughed. "I'd quit you altogether."

"You know, when you think about a name for a child," he said, turning back to me in the growing darkness of the unlit, terrazzo-floored living room which overlooks a wretched Arab neighborhood sprawling down a steep hill to the sparkling Mediterranean, "you want revolutionary heroes to relate to. I think one would be an outcast to name his child Roy Wilkins—*Roy Wilkins Cleaver? Arrghh*! But shining symbols come pretty distinct and clear. There's a kind of rush on heroes these days."

Cleaver spoke with the air of a man who is confident that he is one of those heroes. And indeed he *is* to many white and black Americans, particularly among the young of the New Left. His powerful book *Soul On Ice*, a collection of essays, critical pieces and letters written before he was paroled from Soledad Prison in California, was a best seller long before he fled the United States to escape being reimprisoned for parole violation. A subsequent volume, *Eldridge Cleaver: Post-Prison Writings and Speeches*, has become a campus best seller, even though it is literary gruel compared to the first, superb book. Posters enlarged from pictures shot when he made appallingly obscene speeches as candidate for President on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in 1968 adorn the bedroom walls of thousands of kids. When he surfaced in Algiers last July 17th after eight months of furtive hiding in at least a half-dozen foreign countries, hundreds of messages of good wishes and adulation from all over America poured into the Algerian Central Post and Telegraph office addressed, "Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers," or "Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, c/o Pan-African Cultural Festival, Algiers." Some of his mail even found its way to the small American Mission.

It had been a long time since Cleaver's followers had anyone to follow and they were relieved to have him out in the open again. Cleaver was even more relieved. Eight months under cover is a long time, particularly for a man whose sole aim in life is to communicate his zeal, his purpose and his rage to his followers in Babylon—Cleaver's name for the United States, which he misses terribly. He wants most definitely to come home. "I am an American," he told me. "I have Third World origins. But I am of the First World and my life, my goals are in Babylon." Later he told me of his plan to return in secret and go underground as part of a frightening tactic in leading a bloody new revolution.

During our two weeks of intermittent conversations in Algiers, he pointedly deflected most of my efforts to learn where he spent those eight months. "Look, man, it isn't important to me," he said as we sipped a drink on the terrace of the luxury Aleti Hotel. "Ask the FBI. I'm sure they know exactly how I got out of the country and everything I've been doing since then. But it just isn't correct for me to say where I've been, what countries I've visited, how I went. If I say anything about that, it'll just make big problems for a lot of other people. I don't want to do that."

But from hints inadvertently dropped in the course of our interviews, and while hanging around the Cleaver pad, passing time with Kathleen and helping her to move the secondhand furniture she bought in the El Harash flea market outside the city, I can piece together a fair guess about his travels since he left San Francisco on November 26, 1968, barely a step ahead of renewed imprisonment, perhaps for the rest of his life. And I know *precisely* how he deceived the San Francisco cops, the FBI and the California penal authorities in the last days before his flight, because he told me with a certain amount of pride, mixed with wonder over whether the deception was necessary.

"Three days before I left I was eating with Bob Scheer [editor of *Ramparts* Magazine, which lists Cleaver as its "international editor"] at a Chinese restaurant in North Beach. When we came out of the place there was this police car parked down the street with a young cop, a pig, sprawling in the front seat, just sitting there. I didn't know if he was there to watch me or what. When I walked by I looked over at him and said, "Oink!" then I walked on. He cruised up beside us and said, 'Did you call a police officer?' Then he got out of the car and started talking real close to my face. He was very uptight. I was sure he was going to arrest me, that the pigs were just looking for an excuse to arrest me before the date I was supposed to surrender to the Adult [parole] Authority. Then Scheer faced off the cop, asked him if he was trying to arrest me, and on what charge. The cop said 'No,' and got back in his car. That incident shook me, because I had made my plans to leave, and I was afraid of being arrested before it was time to go."

For several days and nights before his clandestine departure, Pine Street in front of Cleaver's house in the Fillmore district of San Francisco was packed with demonstrating supporters: radical students and young professors from San Francisco State College and Berkeley, fellow Black Panthers, sympathetic middle-class, middle-aged citizens; plus cops, both uniformed and in plain clothes. Some of those present said they recognized FBI and CIA agents, posing as hippies, in the crowd. In another three-story house across the street, a regular detail of police intelligence officers whom Cleaver claims had staked out his house for months, quietly watched his windows and front door and snapped pictures of all who left and entered. Many in the crowd expected a

Cleaver sought sanctuary in Cuba—then fled

bloody confrontation between Cleaver and the police when his freedom expired. He had announced many times, most recently in a public speech just a few days before, that if the authorities wanted to put him back in prison, they would have to come and get him. He would not surrender. "I cannot relate to spending the next four years in the penitentiary," he declared, referring to the time that remained unserved on his 15-year sentence for assault with intent to murder, a charge which stemmed from an unsuccessful attempt to rape a white girl in the back seat of her bound boyfriend's car. Cleaver was paroled after serving nine years, most of which he devoted to self-education and a painfully honest self-analysis.

"I took a long look at myself and, for the first time in my life, admitted I was wrong, that I had gone astray," he wrote in *Soul on Ice*, "—astray not so much from the white man's law as from being human, civilized—for I could not approve the act of rape. Even though I had some insight into my own motivations, I did not feel justified. I lost my self-respect. My pride as a man dissolved and my whole fragile moral structure seemed to collapse, completely shattered. That is why I started to write. To save myself."

By the time of the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Cleaver was a famous man, both as a writer and as the most charismatic of the triumvirate who led the militant, gun-toting Black Panthers. Two days after King's assassination, after spearheading a successful Black Panther campaign to forestall rioting among black youths in the dismal ghettos of Oakland, California, he was involved in a shooting fray with the Bay city cops. A 17-year-old boy named Bobby Hutton, who with Cleaver took cover from police fire in the basement of what quickly became the most bullet-shattered house in Oakland, was shot in the back and killed by police officers after he and Cleaver surrendered. The cops claimed that the disarmed Hutton, blinded by tear gas, appeared to be going for a gun, or running away. Cleaver was treated for a foot wound, imprisoned as a parole violator, then released after two months on a writ of *habeas corpus* successfully argued on grounds that he was a political prisoner. Subsequently the ruling was upset by a higher court and he was ordered to return to prison to serve out his original sentence. He also faced trial on charges stemming from the shoot-out with the police. His lawyers feared that, if convicted, he would be declared a habitual criminal and kept in prison for life. The 34-year-old ex-convict was convinced that, once back in prison, life would be very short, indeed. "There's a lot of racially motivated killing in prison," he told me. "If they wanted to kill me, which they do, it wouldn't take them very long at San Quentin or Soledad or any of the others."

The police and the California Adult Authority which supervises paroled prisoners certainly knew that if they were going to get him back in prison they would have to tie him down and take him there. Yet, astonishingly, they announced that they expected him to give himself up at the appointed hour, and did nothing openly to assure themselves that he would appear or even that he would remain where he could be arrested conveniently.

"Do you think they turned their backs, deliberately, to avoid the trouble and embarrassment of picking you up and creating another martyr?" I asked him when we talked in Algiers a few weeks ago.

"I don't know," he said. "I wondered about that. Kathleen said that she thought they did. But if they were trying to catch me, I think my cover was good enough to fool them. I'm sure it fooled them."

"What did you do?"

"We scripted and taped a lot of phony telephone conversations, with my voice on tape. After I left, someone who knew what to say would call and carry on his side of the conversation, and my voice would come back, from the tape, so that it sounded like a natural phone conversation like I was still there. Then there was another cat, a Panther, I don't know whether you ever saw him around Oakland, but he was about my size and build, and he looked kind of like me. He was inside my house. We fixed him up so that he looked almost exactly like me . . . beard, glasses, my clothes, everything. Kathleen and I drove up to the house. There were a lot of people milling around, demonstrating for me, you know? All of them saw me, and the pigs in the house across the street saw me. We went up the stairs and in the front door. My double was on the other side. In a little while he and Kathleen went out the door and down the steps, and all the dudes down on the street and the pigs across the street thought it was me, because he looked just like me. They didn't know that at just that exact moment I was down in the basement cutting through the side, the back and all around by a very devious route. Out! I don't think they know to this day how I got out of that house. When my double went back in with Kathleen, they thought it was me. I'm sure they listened to my voice on the telephone. They never saw me again."

He would not say where he went next, but he was amused by rumors that he hijacked a plane to leave the United States or that he left as a dis-

because of racism and "everyone carrying guns"

guised passenger in a hijacked plane. "I didn't, but these three cats did," he said, indicating his Black Panther companions.

My own speculation is that he found an undercover sanctuary in San Francisco for a brief period after his disappearance. After that he went to Canada, using a forged driver's license and identification cards to enter the country and subsequently to leave it for Mexico City. How long he remained in Mexico, only he and the people around him know, but it was at least long enough to buy a pair of Mexican sandals, which he sometimes wears in Algiers. That he wound up in Havana is now well known, because he was seen there by a Reuters correspondent, although Cleaver says that the reporter, James Pringle, "wrote an almost complete fabrication about me there."

At some point, Cleaver appeared in Prague. He mentioned being there. It may be that he went there from Mexico City to investigate possible asylum in communist countries other than Cuba. In any case, he refers to Cuba only obliquely; he was deeply upset by his exile in Havana. He spoke bitterly of the ever-present guns on the hips of all government officials. "No matter what country it is, where there are so many guns you have tyranny," he said.

"I heard a rumor last winter, before you turned up in Cuba, that you were in Marrakesh," I said.

"Marrakesh? Where's that?" he asked. "Morocco? Sure, I've been in Morocco. In fact I ran into people everywhere that I've gone that I know. In one place, I ran into a newsman who recognized me. This guy could have caused a lot of trouble for a lot of people. I really wasn't supposed to be there. I wasn't supposed to be seen there. I thought he was going to blow it, but he didn't, even though he might have. He was an American."

Where was that? He wouldn't say. Perhaps it was Prague, perhaps another Middle-Eastern or North African country on his itinerary before he was invited by the revolutionary government of Algeria to settle there. In any case, Cleaver implied to me that he did light, for a time, in a third Arab country, probably Egypt, before settling in Algiers.

His quest for open sanctuary among Arab and communist countries was not only troublesome; it was expensive—involving, at least part of the way, the transportation and living costs of Kathleen, Maceo, the three hijackers and the wife and baby of one of them. Eldridge, who estimates his frozen assets in the United States (mostly royalties from *Soul on Ice*) at half a million dollars, said, "I took quite a bit of expense money with me when I left, but it's just about run out now." I asked if he had any other source of funds.

"People send me money, little sums here and there," he said, "but it's against the law for any American to give me money. *Ramparts* can't pay my salary and my agent can't forward any of my book royalties to me. After the story that I was in Havana, the Treasury Department declared me a 'resident of Cuba' and treated my assets like Cuban assets—they froze them. If anyone gives me money, they're guilty of 'trading with the enemy' or something. So you might say it's getting a little bit tight right now."

At that moment Cleaver was pleading with Kathleen, like any distraught and financially pinched husband, to hurry her packing so that they could make the noon checkout time at the outrageously expensive Aleti where a double room costs $30 a day and meals run from $5 to $15 a plate. During the two-week Pan African Cultural Festival, which drew hundreds of African government representatives, revolutionaries who are trying to unseat them, and young leftists from around the world, Cleaver was an official guest of the Algerian government, which paid all his expenses. But the day the festival ended, he was financially on his own and by the time he checked out of the Aleti his bill was $1,500.

"This hotel and the Saint George [another luxury hotel on a hill overlooking Algiers] are used mostly by European and American businessmen, and the prices are deliberately set very high by the government. It's a policy of 'soak the imperialists.' Not a bad idea, really," said Cleaver, wincing over his own large bill. The charges included numerous transatlantic telephone calls to his San Francisco lawyer and to Black Panther Party headquarters, with whom Cleaver remains in constant contact.

One day Cleaver reached the overseas telephone operator in New York and facetiously told her to let J. Edgar know that he was calling.

"J. Edgar who?" she asked.

"J. Edgar Hoover, Adolf Hoover, the chief of the Gestapo," he said.

"I never heard of him," she said. "Is he a little fat man?"

"Do you know J. Edgar is probably listening to this call?" he asked.

"I don't care," she said. "I don't think I'd like him."

"Oooh," he sighed. "You've got guts."

The three hijackers, who left Cuba to join Eldridge in Algiers, draw almost as much attention on the streets of the French-oriented city as does their leader and Kathleen, with her huge, burnished-copper natural hair style which puffs out like an enormous Mongolian [*Continued on page* 100]

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER SPEAKS

[*Continued from page 37*]

fur hat and frames her delicate, almost alabaster face.

And not all of the attention is hospitable. The Black Panthers of Algiers have learned, to their dismay, that racism is by no means exclusively an American institution. They also encountered it, and were deeply angered by it, in Cuba, a nation which they refer to scornfully as "the Rock."

One of the three, Clinton Rahim Smith, who with Byron Muezi Booth escaped from California's model Chino Prison last year and hijacked a plane to Havana, complained of spending most of his time on the Rock doing forced labor in one of Fidel Castro's state farms. Like Eldridge, he found racism against blacks a common thing in Cuban society, where only about 25 to 30 percent of the people are Negro. The problem followed them to Algeria.

One day I was sitting with Rahim in the lobby of the Cornovailles Hotel, a second-rank hostelry catering mostly to Algerians, when he sent out for a sandwich and a Coke. He was hungry and the hotel had no dining room. The third hijacker, Amiri Akili, who says he departed the United States with his wife Gwen in temporary command of a domestic airliner, in September, 1968, joined us as Rahim began eating. He had hardly swallowed the first bite when the hotel manager scornfully ordered us out of the hotel.

"Racist, pig, bourgeois bastard," said the six-foot, two-inch Akili, towering over the dimunitive hotel manager. "He's hasseling us because we're the only black people here, not because you're eating in the lobby, Rahim."

It looked to me as if Akili was right. Just a few minutes before, a group of white Europeans had eaten at a nearby cluster of chairs and tables in the lobby and the same manager had smiled indulgently. We left the hotel and Rahim finished his lunch at a run-down café across the street, where the proprietor was only too happy to see a take-in meal, provided we bought some beer to go with it.

Cleaver himself is oblivious to such concerns, possibly because with Rahim, Byron and Akili to take care of the onerous chores of daily living, his main contacts with the Algerian people are on a diplomatic and official level. As Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, he is recognized by the government of Algeria as the legitimate representative of a bona fide "liberation" organization, seriously bent on "freeing" the people of the United States from an "oppressive" government.

The Algerians, after successfully concluding their own revolution against France seven years ago, eagerly encourage almost every "liberation" group that asks for help. One of them is Al Fatah, the violent anti-Israeli terrorist band, with whom Cleaver has made common cause. In endorsing the brutal tactics and policies of the Arab terrorists, he has thrown many of his New Left followers in America into a tizzy. When at the Cultural Festival he called "the Zionist regime" of Israel a "puppet and a pawn of the United States," hundreds of young Jewish radicals in the United States were appalled. Some of them dismissed Cleaver's remark as lip service to his Arab hosts or as a momentary aberration. Many hoped that having damned Israel and embraced Al Fatah once, he would keep his mouth shut on the subject and confine his remarks to radical goals in the United States. But Cleaver has no intention of shutting up.

"I vacillate between saying nothing and saying too little. In between, I say too much," he ruefully observed to me. Then he went on to reassert his feelings about Israel and the Arabs and his reasons for focusing on what to many American radicals, black and white, and to almost all American Jews, seems just a step short of virulent anti-Semitism.

"I'm talking about Zionism," he said, "but I think that all Jews, particularly in the United States, have a responsibility to understand what Zionism is, what's actually happening in their name.

"We say that the problems of the Jews cannot be solved by giving problems to the Arabs. The Arab people who lived there, the Palestinian people who were there and who constituted a majority are calling for help. The voice that makes the most sense to us is the voice of Al Fatah. . . .

"I'm very concerned about this because in the United States the Left, the Movement, has quite a few cadre militants who are Jews, very active people who play very significant roles in the Movement, very positive roles. When it comes to confronting the issue of Palestine, I've noticed—and this has been a stumbling block to a lot of our activity in the Movement—that they want to avoid that issue, they want to look elsewhere or confuse the issue by advancing positions that say, 'Well, the Arab governments are corrupt. You've got monarchies backing the regimes. What we need over there is a total socialist revolution.' They start going off into that bag because they don't want to face the basic problem presented by Zionism and the policies that they've instituted over there."

While he is almost zealous in stating his feelings about Israel, Cleaver steers clear of injecting the same kind of fire into conflicts within the communist world.

One day while we sat chatting on the terrace of the Aleti, a group of Russians dressed in baggy gray suits emerged from the hotel. The Soviet Union has sent between 3,000 and 5,000 technicians and military advisors to Algeria, mostly in support of the MIG-flying Algerian Air Force.

"There go the revisionist pigs," said Eldridge.

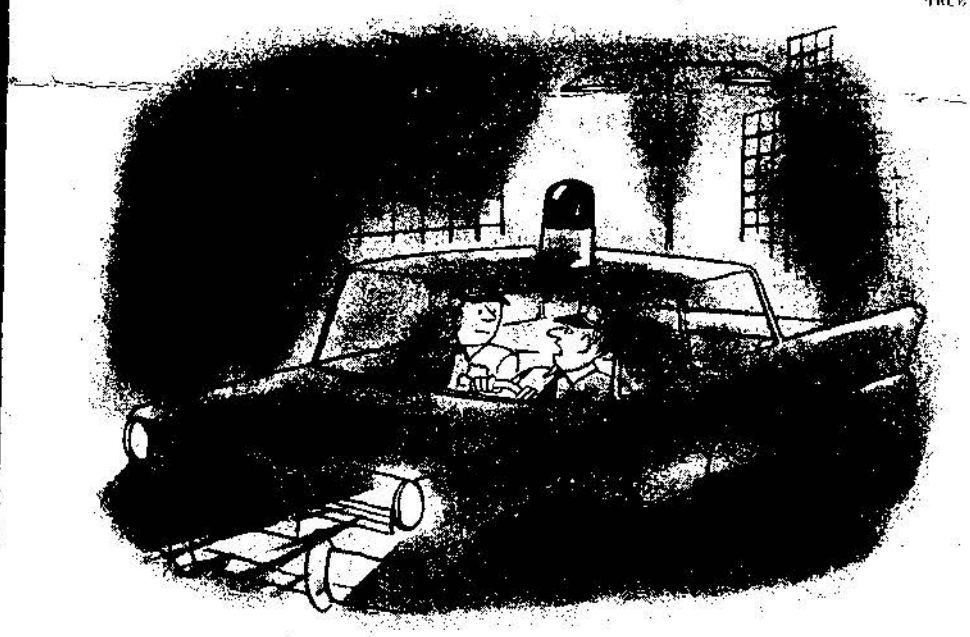
"Are you down on the Soviet Union, too?" I asked him.

"I find it very difficult to relate to them," he said, "although I find it necessary to relate to people who are dependent upon them. There are certain countries of the Third World who are totally dependent upon the Soviet Union. If I would exercise my freedom of speech and talk about that, then I would find myself having problems. I think they're necessary problems for them, they need those problems. I would like to be in a position fully to relate to those problems. But there's no point in getting off into a heavy poker game when you can barely meet the table stakes. Right now we're not deeply involved in the ideological conflict between Russia and China."

"A year and a half ago, when we first met, I described you as a kind of Utopian Socialist," I said, recalling Cleaver's then vague idealism about what kind of government he would like to see in the United States. "Since then your politics seem to have hardened. Would you describe yourself now as a Maoist?"

He took off his almost opaque dark

TRUE



"They can't teach *me* much about riot control. I've got eight kids."

glasses and a pained expression came over his soft amber-green eyes.

"Don't categorize me," he said. "You can't categorize me because I'm not a Maoist or any of those things. I think we are developing now, in the United States, a new and uniquely American Marxism, an indigenous Marxism. It's not Chinese Marxism or Russian Marxism. It's American Marxism.

"Look, man," he continued, "we either have to reaffirm traditional freedoms and liberties of the American people, or we have to redefine them. At the present moment it's confused. If you can't reaffirm them, then the process of redefinition means that it's up for grabs. I personally feel that a redefinition is what's in order. The traditional way of saying those things is no longer apt. Meanings have become distorted. The point is that nothing would be lost. The values that were there from the beginning are really precious and eternal values. Because of the limitations that were placed upon them they've never really been active. I think that now it's possible to gain more of those liberties, to gain them for everybody."

Under what kind of a society?

"History is moving towards socialism, and we feel that socialism is superior to capitalism, so we want a socialist society," he said. "Precisely what the contours of that new society will be is academic. We're more concerned about the process, conscious that what we are doing is part of the process. What we want to know is how to do that more effectively, how more effectively to make the revolution. I don't think there's any doubt at all that the American people are capable of making a revolution."

Can't America's problems be resolved without violence, without bloody revolutions?

"If the pigs would become nonviolent—if they would put down their guns—then we could start talking about some peaceful transitions. If they didn't have armed guards around Congress, it would be possible for us to go in there and get Senator McClellan and kick his ass, just kick him out in the streets without killing him, you see? But the way it is now, when we make up our minds to go into that Congress, we have to make military calculations, because there are armed guards there. We have to talk about shooting our way in, and shooting our way out; so we wouldn't be in a frame of mind to simply kick Senator McClellan in his ass and leave him. We'd go in there and take off his head, then try to get out."

When Cleaver discusses revolution, it is often in such terms as running armed raids on Congress, or "grabbing Nixon's little neck and breaking it," or burning the White House to the ground. "I have a real desire to pull some triggers," he told me over a lunch of Mediterranean shrimp and wine one day. "I am not saying that I want to get screwed up. I am saying that out there are a lot of targets that I actually want to aim at and I want to pull the trigger. At the same time I want to write, to undertake an analysis of the problems in Babylon. That's the way to take a long-range shot at them, like shooting a thousand of them at once. It is not immediate though. I need them both."

While he has not yet pulled a trigger, he has written but the quality of his writing has suffered terribly both from the chaotic life conditions of exile and from his own deliberate decision to disdain art for politics. *Ramparts* recently published two of his recent pieces, one of them a commentary on his exile and the other an open letter to Stokely Carmichael whose violent antiwhite feelings are anathema to Cleaver. In style and content, neither was much more than a hurried political tract. The slick radical magazine followed in the next issue with the beginning of a partially completed autobiographical novella which Cleaver wrote while he was still in prison in 1966. The rhythm of the prose was commanding, the style simple and bursting with power. To one whose admiration of Cleaver came through the strength of *Soul on Ice*, also written in prison, the contrast was symptomatic of Cleaver's condition. He has lost power—both literary power and real power—as a result of his exile and his almost exclusive preoccupation with Marxism. If he remains in exile, a prospect which horrifies him, he will almost certainly fade away as an effective leader of the radical New Left.

But he told me that he is determined to return to the United States and the manner of his return conjures up a rather terrifying picture.

"I will go back to Babylon at a time and in a way of my own choosing," he said. "The FBI won't find me. One of the tactics we are going to pursue, and it will be a very effective tactic, is to create underground sanctuaries all over the United States where people can flee. Whenever anyone faces arrest, he will resist arrest and go underground to a sanctuary. Prisoners who escape from the jails in Babylon will have these sanctuaries to go to. I will be in one of the sanctuaries. People escaping from the pigs will know that I am there and it will give them a sense of security when they come."

In his spoken rhetoric, some of which sounds suspiciously as if it was lifted whole cloth from the writings of Mao Tse-tung, and in his recent writing, Cleaver appears somewhat paranoid to many who hear and read him.

One indication of mild paranoia came one day when Eldridge met me in a mood of great agitation.

"Do you think the FBI could have a dude under arrest, fly him from here back to the States and hide him away, without anybody knowing about it?" he asked me.

"I doubt it," I said. "They'd have to charge him with something to hold him, wouldn't they?"

"Maybe, maybe not," he said.

"Why do you ask?"

"There was this dude who was coming here from Cuba to join us. I knew him there, and I knew him before. He is a very uptight cat, very paranoid. He could have been very useful to the Movement here. On the other hand he could be very dangerous if he defected. I think he's defected. He was due here on August 26th. We know he arrived here. Then he

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THE MAFIA TALKS

compiled and edited by Joseph Volz and Peter J. Bridge

12169

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AMERICA'S ASSASSINS IN VIET NAM
By Georgie Anne Geyer

The inside story of a little known, CIA-led group of Vietnamese terrorists, whose brutal job it is to murder in cold blood officials of the Viet Cong "shadow government."

OUR NEW POLITICAL POLICE
By Max Gunther

Cops across the country have covered their badges with campaign buttons in an unprecedented attempt to push "law-and-order" at the polls. They're getting elected... but will America be the ultimate loser?

ON THE ROAD TO SINKIANG
By Paul Sochurek

High in the Himalayas, 25,000 Indian army troops face the Chinese along a cold, remote border that could become one of the world's next hot spots. One of the few Americans permitted to enter the area has photographed that frontier to make 10 pages of exclusive color for TRUE.

THE STRANGE ROOKIEHOOD OF CONNIE HAWKINS
By Al Stump

Kept out of big-time pro basketball by a cloud of vague charges, Connie Hawkins spent years in the whistle-stops. Now, in his first year in the NBA, he has to prove himself all over again. Is he really a superstar or did the backwater circuit spoil his skills?

A WORLD OF MY OWN
By Robin Knox-Johnston

It took 10½ months for an unknown young Englishman to make himself famous. He became the first man to sail around the world nonstop, single-handed. His incredible adventure has now become a fascinating book, a record of the last great uncomputerized journey left to man.

CHARTERING THE CARIBBEAN
By Ben Kocivar

From the Virgin Islands down through the Grenadines, it's fun, freedom and low-priced luxury for the boating vacationer. TRUE presents a fresh roundup of the booming, sail-away-from-it-all scene, where there's an intriguing new horizon every day—whether you sail it yourself or commandeer a crew.

just disappeared. I think he went straight to the American Mission and gave himself up. They've spirited him out of Algeria some way."

I promised to check with the FBI when I returned to the U.S. to see if the man had been returned and was being held.

"Here, take this," Eldridge said. He scribbled notes on a page of his notebook, tore it out and gave it to me. It read:

"Earl Ferrell—Mosiah Kenyatta. Parole Violator. California. Hijacked plane from Mexico. March, 1968. Arrived Algeria. August 26, 1969."

Out of curiosity, I asked the U.S. consular officer, Conrad Drescher, if the man had actually turned himself in for shipment home. Drescher had never heard of Ferrell. He had, however, heard of Cleaver and asked me anxiously when Eldridge and Kathleen planned to bring in baby Maceo so that he could be registered as an American citizen. I carried this message back to Eldridge, who thought it would be fun to lead his entire Black Panther entourage into Drescher's office for the ceremony. But time was running out. Eldridge, accompanied by Byron Booth, planned to leave momentarily for North Korea to attend a Pyongyang conference of communist journalists. After that they planned to swing through Hanoi, where, it was said, he might try to work out an exchange for American P.O.W.'s, then return to Algiers.

I went out to the airport and saw the pair of Black Panthers off on a Russian passenger jet flown by the Czechoslovakian airline. A few days later I went back to the airport to return to the United States. After passing through immigration and police procedures, I wandered around the almost barren departure lounge, officially now out of Algeria, and waited for my flight to Paris. Sitting on a bench was a thin, bearded young American black man who looked both exhausted and utterly frustrated. I sat down next to him and he told me his story.

"I got here on August 26th," he said, "and there was something wrong with my visa. The Algerians wouldn't let me in. They kept me here in the departure lounge for a couple of days, wouldn't even let me make a phone call. Then they put me on a plane to Morocco. They wouldn't let me in there, either. They put me on a plane to Sierra Leone, which sent me back to Morocco, which sent me to Liberia, which sent me back to Sierra Leone. In the last few weeks I've been to eight different countries, some of them three times. None of them would let me through customs and immigration. I've been sleeping in departure lounges and eating whatever I can get. I've been here three days this time, and I think, finally, they're going to let me in."

I told him I had been in Algiers interviewing Eldridge Cleaver.

"That's who I'm supposed to be with," he said. "How is he?"

"He's in North Korea."

"Oh," he grunted.

"What's your name?" I asked.

"They call me Kenyatta," he said. He wouldn't elaborate.

I guess it was Earl Ferrell.

—Don A. Schanche

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
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GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Bishop
Brennan
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: January 7, 1970

FROM : A. Rosen

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Malley
1 - Mr. Shroder
1 - Mr. Schutz
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
THREATS AGAINST THE PRESIDENT

William Robinson, Criminal Division of the Department, confidentially advised today that the Department was authorizing proceeding to Grand Jury, possibly in Washington, D. C., in order to seek an indictment against Eldridge Cleaver who participated in a taped interview by Mike Wallace which was broadcast over CBS Television during the evening of January 6, 1970. This interview was allegedly taped in Algeria where Cleaver is alleged to have sought refuge.

According to Robinson, Cleaver made numerous statements during the course of the interview indicating he planned to kill President Nixon with the cooperation of members of the Black Panther Party. Robinson advised that while this was possibly a technical violation of the Presidential Assassination Statute (Section 1751, Title 18, United States Code) over which the FBI has jurisdiction, it was definitely a threat under Section 871, Title 18, United States Code, within the jurisdiction of the United States Secret Service and, accordingly, an indictment would be sought under the latter statute.

He volunteered the fact that [redacted] was very close, in the Criminal Division's opinion, to being a party to the conspiracy, but it had been decided to take no action against him other than have Secret Service bring this fact forcefully to his attention [redacted]

ACTION: None. For information.

REC- 51 100-447251-734

HAS:jny
(9)

5 JAN 12 1970

b6
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[redacted] is a stumbler

NOV 13 1970

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

1038AM 1/10/70 URGENT MCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706), WFO, NEW YORK, LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1969)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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/BLACK PANTHER PARTY /RACIAL MATTER /IDENTIFICATION ORDER
BPP-TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP, RM; LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, IO NO, /UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO
FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WANTED FLYER NO. FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC; AVOID CONFINMEN
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

/REFERENCE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE
RE SF TEL JANUARY NINE, LAST.

SF T-SIXTEEN ADVISED JAN. TEN INSTANT THAT [redacted]
IS LEAVING PARIS VIA AIR FRANCE TODAY AND ARRIVING NEW YORK
SEVEN THIRTY P.M., JAN. TEN. HE IS LEAVING NEW YORK NINE
THIRTY P.M., JAN. TEN VIA TWA FLIGHT TWENTY ONE ARRIVING SAN
FRANCISCO ONE FIFTY FOUR A.M., JAN. ELEVEN. SOURCE DOES NOT
KNOW IF [redacted] ACCOMPANIED BY ANYONE.

b6
b7C

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED
180 JAN 14 1970

END PAGE ONE

JAN 18 1970

WFO

54 JAN 20 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-2170

"SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE" DAILY PAPER, JAN. TEN CARRIES RESULT OF PHONE CALL TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER BY REPORTER KNOWN TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO BPP. CLEAVER INFORMED REPORTER THAT HE DEFINITELY WILL BE COMING BACK TO THE UNITED STATES AND COMING THE SAME WAY HE LEFT, BUT NOT TO GO TO PRISON. KATHLEEN CLEAVER ALSO TALKED TO REPORTER AND REVEALED SHE IS PREGNANT AGAIN.

TO LOS ANGELES AND WFO FOR INFORMATION.

END

DCW

FBI WASH DC*

TU@

COPY SENT IDIU

I Kenneth Conner

MR. BOSEN

AGNI-SS - OSI - ONI, STATE, CIA, CID, ISD,

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Foreign Liaison Unit
13/70

Attached & forwarded

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; aka
FUGITIVE
IO # 4239
WANTED FLIER # 447
RM-BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ReBulet to all SACs and all Legal Attaches dated 6/18/69, captioned "BPP - Underground, Racial Matters," concerning possible underground escape apparatus used by members of the Black Panther Party.

In view of recent press releases concerning statements attributed to subject Cleaver indicating his intention to return to the United States in the same manner in which he departed the United States, inferring the existence of an underground escape route, all offices must immediately reiterate to racial informants and other racial sources the need to concentrate on securing information pertaining to the possible escape route used by Cleaver or other Black Panther Party members.

MAILED 2
JAN 13 1970
COMM-FBI

REC 45 100-447251-737

All offices having ports of entry, border crossing points, or international nonstop air flights terminating within their divisions should realert United States Customs Agents and other available sources of the potential return by Cleaver.

2 - All Other Offices
2 - All Legal Attaches

19 JAN 14 1970

NOTE: Numerous rel[redacted] by various press, television media have indicated that Cleaver may soon ~~return~~ to the United States. On 1/9/70, Black Panther Party Headquarters, Berkeley, California, informed the San Francisco Examiner Newspaper that Eldridge Cleaver will be returning to the United States in the near future. Since the escape route used by members of the Black Panther Party has yet to be fully determined, all offices in both the domestic and

JRF:meh

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58 JAN 20 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

(SEE PAGE 2)

Airtel to Albany
Re: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

All Legal Attaches, particularly Mexico City and Ottawa, alert any sources which may be of assistance in determining information concerning the escape route used by members of the Black Panther Party or other travel information concerning subject Cleaver.

For information all offices, Cleaver recently requested the issuance of a United States Passport for himself at the embassy in Algiers, Algeria, such being refused by the United States Department of State. This together with Cleaver's reported dislike for living conditions in both Cuba and Algeria makes his return clandestinely to the United States a strong possibility.

All offices keep the Bureau fully informed of any developments relating to Cleaver's possible travel to the United States or any other area of the world.

(NOTE:) foreign field are being alerted in an effort to possibly learn of Cleaver's attempt to return to the United States by the Black Panther Party underground apparatus.

FD-654 (Rev. 1-3-91)

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Date 3-2-05

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Report		Other	
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4/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO - 4239
RM - BPP
(OO:SF)

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM concerning captioned individual and three associates. Enclosures for other offices as noted in the copy count.

The files of the Passport Office, U. S. Department of State, were reviewed on 12/4/69, by SA [redacted] b6 b7C

According to Passport officials, subject and his companions appeared at the American Embassy in Algeria on 11/27/69, and filled out passport applications. In addition to subject, the following three individuals made out applications, [redacted] and [redacted] Records of the NCIC determined that [redacted] and [redacted] have outstanding arrest warrants dated 7/30/69, in connection with crime aboard an aircraft violation.

(2) - Bureau (Enc.8)
4 - Los Angeles (Enc.6) (RM)
(2 - 164-137)
2 - New York (Enc.2) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Enc.2) (RM)
3 - WFO
(1 - 88-70106)

ENCLOSURE

REC-20 0-447 - 738

DEC 5 1969

RNW:can
(13)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NIS~~, OSI, SEC. SERV., IRS, CIA
DEPT: ISD, ~~GRD, RAD~~ IDFU-CD
HOW FORW: B/S
DATE FORW 12/4/69
BY: [illegible]

ENCLOSURE

SPECIAL INV. SECT.

b6 b7C

Approved JAN 21 1970 Sent _____ M P
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosed to Los Angeles is one copy of a guide line prepared by WFO to cover fugitive cases where restrictive passport action might be desired by the U. S. Attorney. It is suggested that Los Angeles furnish same to the U. S. Attorney for consideration and appropriate implementation.

WFO will follow activities of subject and companions through passport officials and advise the Bureau and appropriate offices if it appears they will return to the United States in the near future.

[redacted] is also believed to be the subject of a crime aboard an aircraft case and a fugitive in connection with the hijacking of an airplane to Cuba.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

December 4, 19

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-19-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTERS -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

A review of the files of the Passport Office, U. S. Department of State (USDS), Washington, D. C. (WDC), on December 4, 1969, by a representative of the FBI determined that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, [redacted] appeared at the American Embassy in Algiers, Algeria, on November 27, 1969, and filled out applications for a passport.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver indicated on his passport application, which was undated, that he planned to remain abroad for an indefinite period. He listed his date of birth as August 31, 1935, at Little Rock, Arkansas. He listed his permanent residence as 2777 Pine Street, San Francisco, California, and his present residence as Algiers, Algeria. He listed his father as Leroy Cleacer, born in Little Rock, Arkansas, and his mother as Mrs. Thelma Cleaver of 150 West Calaveras Street, Altadena, California. He stated that he [redacted] In the event of death or accident he requested that his mother be notified at the address above.

[redacted] indicated on his passport application, which was undated, that he was born [redacted] and was currently residing in Algiers, Algeria. He listed his permanent residence as [redacted]

100-[illegible] 738

ENCLOSURE

b6
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[redacted] New York. He listed his father as [redacted] and his mother as [redacted] born [redacted] In the event of accident or death he requested that his mother be notified. He stated that [redacted]

[redacted] in his passport application, which was undated, stated that he was born [redacted] at [redacted] He showed a mailing address of Belcord, Agiers, and did not list his permanent residence. He listed his father as [redacted] born in [redacted] and his mother, unnamed, as residing at [redacted] He stated he [redacted]

[redacted] in his passport application, which was undated, stated that he was born [redacted] at [redacted] He listed his permanent residence as [redacted] and his mailing address as Algiers, Algeria. He indicated that he planned to remain abroad as long as necessary. He listed his father as [redacted] born [redacted] and his mother as [redacted] born [redacted] In the event of accident or death he requested that [redacted] (mother) [redacted] be notified. He indicated that [redacted] Under the caption occupation he listed [redacted] BPP, USA, however, these words were scratched through and the word student was substituted.

Representatives of the Passport Office advised that no passports were issued to the above individuals inasmuch as the applications were not fully completed and no fees were paid. Moreover in the case of Cleaver they stated that no passport would be issued to him.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

On December 1, 1969, the U. S. Department of State sent instructions to the U. S. Embassy, Algiers, Algeria, that no passport be issued to Cleaver or the other three individuals but rather certificates of identity valid only for return to the United States.

A characterization of the BPP is attached hereto.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everwhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Page 106 ~ Referral/Direct;
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UNITED STATES [redacted] MENT

Memorandum

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TO: Director, FBI (100-447251)
Attention:

DATE: 2-11-70

FROM: Legat, Paris (88-256) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE
RM - BPP

ReSFLHM 1-21-70. Re: Black Panther Party RM - International Relations

[X] On 2-11-70 dissemination was made of reLHM

to:

(S)

Remarks:

1 - Bureau
1 - Paris (88-256)
NWP:jmw
(2)

DATE: 06-20-2006
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FEB 3 1970

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 06-20-2006
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Mr. Tolson
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Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 2/3/70

FROM: LEGAT, MEXICO CITY (100-3184)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239; WF #447
RM - BPP; RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -

ReBuairtel 1/13/70.

On 1/30/70 [redacted] (PROTECT-RELIABLE), who has been alerted for any information concerning subject and who is familiar with several Negro associates of the American Communist Group in Mexico (ACGM), advised that no information was available concerning subject. b2 b7D

According to [redacted] (S) and [redacted] (S) the ACGM, is a loose association of a predominantly social nature of present and/or past members of the CPUSA and their friends and associates who share a common sympathy for the international communist movement. b1

On 1/30/70 [redacted] and [redacted] (PROTECT-RELIABLE), physical surveillance sources, advised that a surveillance of [redacted] (Bufile 105-3891) who resides in Mexico City, on 1/23, 24, 26-30/70 revealed no activities indicating any information concerning subject. It is noted that a surveillance of [redacted] was instituted when it was determined from another source that [redacted] expressed her willingness to house an unidentified Negro from California who was expected to visit Mexico. [redacted] indicated she had room for this individual in the maid's quarters on the roof of the building in which she lives. It has been further determined that [redacted] has expressed a militant support for Black Nationalism and is very friendly with [redacted] b2 b6 b7C b7D

According to [redacted] (S) and [redacted] (S) an American Negress and former member of the Communist Party b1 b6 b7C

(6) - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Legat, Ottawa, Info)
(2 - San Francisco, 88-12329)
1 - Mexico City

(7)

REC-51 100-447251-75

FEB 9 1970

FEB 26 1970

EXP. PROC.

FUG. SUP.
RACIAL INT.

Copy to Legat to depart OTT by routing slip for ☐ info ☐ action date 2-11-70 by

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan
5010-108-02

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

100-395934/210A

MEX 100-3184 [redacted]

in the United States, is presently a naturalized Mexican citizen. She and [redacted] are members of the Communist Party of Mexico (PCM - Partido Comunista Mexicano) and she serves in somewhat of a liaison capacity between the PCM and the ACGM. In addition, according to these sources [redacted] are very strongly pro-communist China in their sympathies and are strongly in favor of the Black Nationalist movement in the United States.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

(S)

b1

This office will continue to maintain close contact with logical sources for any information concerning subject.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

DATE: 06-19-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1, 6) 06-19-2031

FBI

CLASSIFICATION PER CGA LETTER ~~SECRET~~ Date: 2/10/70
DATED 06-20-2006

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) Sub 84

FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (157-26) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (CPP)
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Classified by SP7 MAC/PSA
Declassify on: OADR 10-18-88
#288488

ReBuairtel 2/2/70.

b1

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-84-350

100-447281-FCY 1-SAC/S 3/5/70 ABF/mt

NOT RECORDED
183 MAR 20 1970

4 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - San Francisco, 157-8871, Info.)
1 - Legat, Bonn (Info. - sent direct)
1 - Legat, London (Info. - sent direct)
1 - Paris

NMP:AM

Secret

Classified by 4417
Exempt from GDS, Category 1, 2, 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Sent _____ M Per _____

57 APR 1 1970

Special Agent in Charge

SECRET

SECRET

1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - [redacted]

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-20-2031

February 22, 1970

1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

CABLEGRAM IMMEDIATE

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER - [redacted]
DATED 06-20-2006

TO LEGAT PARIS

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251) (105-165706 Sub 84)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; RM - BPP,

OO: SAN FRANCISCO, BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RM

b2
b6
b7C

[redacted] ON INSTANT DATE ADVISED THAT [redacted] SCANDANAVIAN BPP REPRESENTATIVE AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF CLEAVER, BPP MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND PV FUGITIVE FROM STATE OF CALIFORNIA, CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, FROM COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, FEBRUARY TWENTY-TWO, INSTANT, REPORTING FOLLOWING:

CLEAVER IS ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN A "DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT" WHICH WILL ENABLE HIM TO TRAVEL FROM ALGIERS TO PARIS WHERE HE IS TO SPEAK ON THE BOBBY SEALE SITUATION MONDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTY-THREE NEXT.

IF CLEAVER CANNOT GET THE PASSPORT, A TAPE OF CLEAVER'S

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

WHA:ekw
(9)

REC-111 100-447251-770

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

VIA TELETYPE
621PM Rem
FEB 22 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

19 FEB 24 1970

MAR 2 1970

SECRET NCIPHERED

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT PARIS
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-447251; 105-165706 Sub 84

SPEECH WILL BE SENT TO PARIS FOR [redacted] TO PRESENT TO THE UNIDENTIFIED AUDIENCE.

[redacted] SAID IF CLEAVER DOES OBTAIN THE PASSPORT "SHE AND ELDRIDGE ARE GOING TO BLOW."

[redacted] SAID [redacted] HOME PHONE [redacted] BUSINESS PHONE [redacted] IN PARIS, IS AWARE OF SITUATION AND [redacted] CAN BE CONTACTED THERE.

b6
b7C

NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RECEIVED CONCERNING TIME AND PLACE OF CLEAVER'S PROPOSED APPEARANCE IN PARIS, WHAT COUNTRY MIGHT ISSUE PASSPORT, OR EXACTLY WHAT [redacted] MEANT BY STATEMENT SHE AND ELDRIDGE ARE GOING TO BLOW.

LEGAT, PARIS, SHOULD ALERT APPROPRIATE SOURCES REGARDING CLEAVER'S POSSIBLE TRAVEL TO PARIS AND REQUEST SUCH SOURCES TO COVER SUBJECT'S STAY IN FRANCE. DETERMINE IF LOGICAL SOURCES POSSESS ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING [redacted]

STATE DEPARTMENT, SECRET SERVICE, AND [redacted] HAVE BEEN ADVISED OF ABOVE. [redacted] (S)

b1
b2

NOTE: Subject is BPP leader who is fugitive in Algeria.

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

2-25-70

CODE

URGENT

CABLEGRAM

~~IMMEDIATE~~

VIA TELETYPE
238P JTJ
FEB 25 1970
ENCIPHERED

b6
b7C

TO LEGAT PARIS

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DASH FUGITIVE; RM DASH BPP.

REURTEL FEBRUARY TWENTY-FOUR LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISED [redacted] CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS FROM PARIS, FRANCE, FEBRUARY TWENTY-FOUR LAST INQUIRING CONCERNING TRAVEL PLANS OF [redacted] [redacted] WAS TOLD [redacted] CAN NOT TRAVEL DUE TO PRIOR COMMITMENT AND BPP LACKS NECESSARY FUNDS.

[redacted] ON SAME DATE RECONTACTED BPP HEADQUARTERS ADVISING ELDRIDGE CLEAVER CONSIDERS VISIT BY [redacted] TO BE ESSENTIAL AND PROMISED HIM REIMBURSEMENT FOR TRAVEL EXPENSES. [redacted] SAID HE WOULD CONSULT WITH [redacted] [redacted] AND THEREAFTER ADVISE [redacted] OF THE DECISION.

CLEAVER, ACCORDING TO [redacted] DID NOT ARRIVE IN PARIS AS PLANNED SINCE HE COULD NOT OBTAIN "GUARANTEES." IN HIS ABSENCE, CONNIE MATTHEWS SPOKE TO UNIDENTIFIED GATHERING OF

REC 67 100-447251-773

1 - 100-449169 [redacted]
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)
ERS:hls

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 FEB 26 1970

MAR (6)

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-449169

b6
b7C

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT PARIS
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
100-447251

THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE IN PARIS ON FEBRUARY TWENTY-THREE LAST. CLEAVER'S WHEREABOUTS WAS NOT REVEALED BY [redacted] BUT IT APPEARS HE REMAINS IN ALGERIA.

FURNISH YOUR SOURCES WITH ABOVE INFORMATION AND INQUIRE WHETHER CLEAVER ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN "GUARANTEES" FOR SAFE PASSAGE INTO FRANCE. ADDITIONAL PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED REGARDING CLEAVER AND [redacted] WILL BE FORWARDED TO YOU.

NOTE:

We previously learned Cleaver was attempting to obtain a "diplomatic passport" for travel to Paris and on 2-23-70 Cleaver instructed [redacted] to join him immediately. Legat, Paris has been kept advised of these developments.

SECRET

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3,3(6) 06-20-2031

TELETYPE
FEB 24 1970
ENCIPHERED

STATE 174

URGENT 2-24-70

TO DIRECTOR

PARAPHRASE IN DELETED

FROM LEGAT PARIS NO. 19

IO#4239
WF#447

LEROY EDLRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP.

REBUCAB FEBRUARY TWENTY TWO LAST.

[redacted] (S)

b1

[redacted]. FURTHER DETAILS (S)

WHEN RECEIVED WILL BE FURNISHED TO BUREAU.

REC-26

RECEIVED 8:08AM PAO/JTJ

100-447251-774

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SECRET

10 FEB 26 1970

2 XEROX

FEB

CC: MR. BRENNAN

60 MAR 4 1970

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

0-62 (Rev. 11-3-69)

TREAT AS YELLOW

FBI

Date: 2-22-70

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-20-2006

☒ ~~IMMEDIATE~~ PRIORITY

Transmit the message that follows by coded teletype: ☐ URGENT

* *

TO: ☐ THE PRESIDENT

☐ THE VICE PRESIDENT
☐ ATT.: _____

☐ WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
☐ ATT.: _____

☒ SECRETARY OF STATE

☒ DIRECTOR, CIA

☐ DIRECTOR, DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
☐ AND NATIONAL INDICATIONS CENTER

☐ DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

☐ DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

☒ U. S. SECRET SERVICE (PID) ☒ ENCODED ☐ PLAINTEXT

☐ ATTORNEY GENERAL (BY MESSENGER)

☐ Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

FIELD DISSEMINATION

☐ ALL ON LINE OFFICES

From: DIRECTOR, FBI

Classification: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Subject: SAME

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEB 22 1970
350 pm RNK
TELETYPE

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

(Text of message begins on next page.)

COPIES DESTROYED
354 MAY 3 1971

REC-57/00-447251-7/75

Approved _____

15 FEB 24 1970

MAR 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒ Sent _____ M Per _____

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CODE PRIORITY

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE

TO: DIRECTOR, CIA

TO: U. S. SECRET SERVICE (PID) ENCODED

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-20-2031

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-20-2006

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE: RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THIS DATE THAT:

b6
b7C

[redacted] SCANDANAVIAN BPP REPRESENTATIVE AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF CLEAVER, BPP MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND PAROLE VIOLATOR FUGITIVE FROM STATE OF CALIFORNIA, CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, BERKELEY, CALIF., FROM COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO, INSTANT, REPORTING FOLLOWING:

CLEAVER IS ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN A "DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT" WHICH WILL ENABLE HIM TO TRAVEL FROM ALGIERS TO PARIS WHERE HE IS TO SPEAK ON THE BOBBY SEALE SITUATION MONDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE, NEXT.

END PAGE ONE

SECRET

IF CLEAVER CANNOT GET THE PASSPORT, A TAPE OF CLEAVER'S SPEECH WILL BE SENT TO PARIS FOR [redacted] TO PRESENT TO THE UNIDENTIFIED AUDIENCE.

[redacted] SAID IF CLEAVER DOES OBTAIN THE PASSPORT "SHE AND ELDRIDGE ARE GOING TO BLOW."

[redacted] SAID [redacted] HOME PHONE [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] BUSINESS PHONE [redacted]

IN PARIS, IS AWARE OF SITUATION AND [redacted] CAN BE CONTACTED THERE.

NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RECEIVED CONCERNING TIME AND PLACE OF CLEAVER'S PROPOSED APPEARANCE IN PARIS, WHAT COUNTRY MIGHT ISSUE PASSPORT, OR EXACTLY WHAT [redacted] MEANT BY STATEMENT SHE AND ELDRIDGE ARE GOING TO BLOW.

GP-1

BT

NNNN

(S)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

[redacted] OUR LEGAL ATTACHE IN PARIS HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO COVER CLEAVER'S ACTIVITIES IN THE EVENT HE DOES TRAVEL TO FRANCE. b1 b6 b7C

APPROVED BY SA [redacted]

END

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

2/2/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL - AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 26)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1618)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM

Transmitted herewith to the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. Two (2) copies of this LHM are being furnished to the San Francisco Office. No local dissemination is being made in Los Angeles.

b6
b7C

Although the tapes from which the attached transcriptions were made were seized by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) under a legal search warrant, the admissibility of these tapes as evidence, has not yet been determined in a court of law. The original tape recording is still in the possession of the LAPD.

ENCLOSURE

4 - Bureau (Encl.-11) (AM-RM)
(1 - 100-447251) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1 - 157-12693) [redacted]
2 - San Francisco (AM-RM) (Encl.-2)
(1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(1 - ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
3 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-2323) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1 - 157-3675) [redacted]

100-447257-
NOT RECORDED
78 MAR 2 1970

RHB/gcw
(9)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NIS-OSI~~, SEC, SERV., CIA
DEPT: ISD, ~~INS-BIS~~, IDIU, CD (SIDU)

NOV FORM: N/S
DATE FORM: 2/13/70
BY: JFM

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

59 MAR 4 1970

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 350-060 (11)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
February 2, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

On December 8, 1969, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), acting under authorized search warrants, raided the Los Angeles Headquarters of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at 4115 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

During a search of the premises after the raid a number of tape recordings were seized as evidence in connection with charges filed against those Panther members in the headquarters during the raid of assault with intent to commit murder.

One of the tapes seized contains reports by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the BPP (see appendix) and [redacted] described as [redacted] of the BPP. b6 b7C

Attached hereto is a transcription of the above tapes.

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

XEROX
MAR 2 1970

REPORT OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

This is Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. This is a report to the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party and to the membership of the Black Panther Party.

I am sitting in my hotel suite in the Pyong Yang International Hotel in Pyong Yang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, its known as North Korea.

I came here on September 11th, today is September 30th, and accompanied by [redacted] a brother who was in prison with me in the State of California and who along with another brother [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted], and they are working with me now in Algeria helping to set up the Information Center there.

I received an invitation to come to Pyong Yang to participate in an international conference of journalists. The official title of the conference was "The International Conference of journalists of the whole world who are fighting against the aggression of United States imperialism." The conference lasted seven days and it ended and there was quite a bit of work done.

I'm sending you here the congratulatory speech that Comrade Kim Il Sung made to the conference. Comrade Kim Il Sung is the leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and truly the leader of the whole of Korean people, and I have more to say about him a little later on in this type but I want to cover a little bit about this conference.

The conference indulged in the very involved and sad debate about the present state of the world, particularly on the internationally revolutionary movement.

Almost all the people present were Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary. They came from all the five continents. The delegation of the Black Panther Party was the only one that was invited from North America because they had people here from all over Latin America including Cuba and some of them from revolutionary organizations in Argentina and Brazil, Columbia and Bolivia. There were brothers from liberation movement in Africa, particularly from Angola and Guiena, Mozambique, South Africa, and the Congo Brazzaville. There was almost every country in Africa there. There was at least one representative and there were representatives from El Fatah in Palestine, from Syria. There were representatives from

Vietnam , North and South Vietnam, from Laos, Indonesia and Japan. Then there were representatives from some of the socialist countries in Europe also from Sweden and France and Britain, so there was a cross section of people present.

I don't think that anyone really knew what to expect when they received their invitation. I imagine my invitation was typical, that it was due to the activity of the Black Panther Party in Algeria during the cultural festival, that we came to the notice of the Korean comrades who are at the Embassy there and that we could make a positive contribution to the conference, we were extended an invitation.

I can truly say that I'm very glad that we did receive this invitation because the other time when we had been here we've gained quite a bit of understanding of some of the problems that have been plaguing us, especially the problems in the socialist camp concerning the revisionists in the Soviet Union and the dog-matists in China and the Soviet Union.

Chinese _____ say the union is the Soviet Revisionist renegade and the workers called the Chinese dog-matists and revisionists and everything else you can think of.

But also the Romanians, Hungarians, East Germans, West Germans, Czechoslovakians, the Bulgarians, Belgians, they were all here and they all took part in this conference.

This was the first time that I ever had an opportunity to observe the Soviet Union in action and I can truthfully say that everybody in the _____ cares about the revolution and as a matter of fact understate the situation. You are seeing most of the things that I'm sending you, a newspaper and in this newspaper there is a few articles on the conference and then there's a declaration, its called "The Pyong Yang Declaration" which was issued by the conference on behalf of the revolution and which will give you some insight as to the very radical stand taken, I should say revolutionary stand taken by the conference as a whole, but behind the scenes there was quite a bit of debate and class struggle over the revolutionary forces and the revisionist forces led by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was trying to do everything it could to water down the positions that were being taken and to me it was disgusting especially to watch the so-called Marxist-Leninists from the first Socialist country in the world which had been reduced to abject reactionaries who become _____ to the liberation of the other people in the world.

China did not take part in the conference, I'm not quite sure why but some people say that the revisionists conspired to keep them out, other people say that the Chinese refused to talk. But this is the first time that I've ever been in Asia but it so happens that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is uniquely situated so as to give you a good understanding of whats going on in Asia, but not only whats going on in Asia but really whats going on all over the world because we found out that the Koreans are the most revolutionary people outside of the United States in terms of their specific opposition to the United States of America, plus the Vietnamese people are engaged in a death struggle, a life and death struggle with the United States but I've noticed that they have a more diplomatic, you might say, approach to the United States than the Koreans do. The Koreans don't bite their tongues at all, they tell it like it is and they take a very revolutionary attitude, an anti-imperialist attitude and I can say they are serious.

This country is an industrialized country. It has a booming economy. A country, these people are into something that I don't think is used anywhere else in the world. They have truly created a socialist society. Of course, you have to

understand that Korea is split up between North and South Korea.

South Korea is a kind of United States, its occupied with 60,000 American troops in South Korea and we have a separate army of 600,000 troops and they are being increased constantly. So that South Korea is virtually an occupied territory and the number one task of the Northern Korean people is to liberate the South and this means that they are in a constant collision course with the United States imperialist aggressors who occupy South Korea.

Looking back historically we find that in the Marxist-Leninist world that it progresses from Marx to Engles to Lenin and Stalin, and after Stalin dies the Vanguard of the international communist movement really becomes blurred and there is a lot of confusion as to just who is pointing the way and making new theoretical grounds, also new strategy and tactics to the further development of the Revolutionary Movement. I know that this is a confusion that has changed many people. People in the United States in particular have splitted up between those who follow the Soviet revisionist lines and then the Maoists and we all know how confused that scene is. But there is a very unique position being taken by the communists

in Korea and I find that I can agree with them 100 per cent because there they have a unique position and they have a unique revolutionary position of their own. Many people don't know it and I really didn't know it until I got here and was provided with this information that Comrade Kim Il Sung is the man who has succeeded to the mantle of the greatest Marxist-Leninist theoretician in history.

There were a lot of difficulties in placing him in his true position because of the confusion surrounding the great Marxist-Leninist theoretician in China Mao-Tse-tung, but a careful examination of the contributions that these two men had made and are still making reveals that the Chairman Mao doesn't really offer us a theoretical analysis, a strategy and a guide for action in terms of sharply combating United States imperialism and fascism today.

Comrade Kim Il Sung is truly the national hero of his people. He was organized back in 1932, armed guerrilla group that started off very small but gained enough strength that after fighting against the Japanese Imperialists for 15 years he drove them out of North Korea and then when the United States Imperialist came in he was the one who led his country to victory driving the imperialist all the way back across the 38th parallel, and Kim Il Sung is truly a great Marxist-Leninist speaker and you will be able to see this from the material I have sent in to you.

I want to put emphasis on this, that the man has offered a theoretical analysis of our present world situation and he also offered a guide to action in terms of this international conflict, and in a way that he analyses it and I think that his teachings stand on their own merit, all he has to do is be exposed to them and we could see the validity and truthfulness that the man has to say.

I have quite a bit of material, some that I have to write articles to explain it. But just so that you can have some of it now I'm sending you a _____ newspaper which has the declaration of Pyong Yang in it and also there's an article that I wrote about Korea in the paper. So I think it would be o.k. if you would take these articles and reprint them in the newspaper.

I made a speech at the conference setting forth the Black Panther Party's analysis of the domestic situation in the United States and also its analysis of international situations.

I'm happy to say that the presentation that we made here was very enthusiastically received and I'm quite satisfied that it was the best speech delivered here and also the most

important because many people wanted to attack revisionists for the way they are functioning. A lot of them attacked them briefly and indirectly but I attacked the revisionists specifically and specifically attacked Romania by name because of the disreputable act of receiving Pig Nixon in Romania and even hugging him and kissing him so that I have to get this speech typed out into more manageable form because the way it is now its kind of a hodge-podge and it wouldn't be cool to try and feed it to you because you might not be able to follow the way I have it laid out. But I will have it laid out correctly and send it to you just as soon as I get back to Algeria. But there is also as I mentioned a speech delivered by Conrad Kim Il Sung and a pamphlet attacking United States imperialism that he wrote in 1968 and to give that _____ along with some photographs that I'm sending you and also a brief article written by Brother Byron Booth. This will provide you with a scoop. It may be that this material has already gotten back to the United States but I hope not.

I hope that you can take this and use it in the paper because its fresh material. I would say, again, that North Korea is an industrialized country. Its a very beautiful country. The people have a very high socialist culture. They

are doing some very unique things in terms of organizing socialist basis of economy here, they have cooperatives, all of the land has been nationalized for quite awhile now. People have a socialist consciousness and its not one of these fake or phony consciousness that you find in many so-called socialist countries where the socialists are the ones who are writing the newspaper articles and the rest of the people are bourgeois reactionaries, opportunists, and other kind of scalawags. The people here are really into a socialist thing, they have pride, they have high morals, they have great esteem and love for Comrade Kim Il Sung, and the man truly deserves it.

I think that one of the things we're going to have to do very rapidly in the Black Panther Party is to become familiar with this man's thinking because he offers some very creative insight into many problems and to strategies that we can follow and the way that I look upon this is that Black people, Black Panther Party, the Vanguard of the revolution of the United States and the most deadly domestic enemies of United States fascism, where internationally Comrade Kim Il Sung the North Korean people are of the most deadly adversaries that United States imperialism has. So that in effect this conference

got together the most deadly internal enemy of United States fascism with the most deadly external enemy of United States imperialism and this is really a very powerful combination, a very beautiful nature has been gained out of it and I have more to report to you later on about these things but I can first say that the Black Panther Party will find it in its interest to clearly understand the teachings of Comrade Kim Il Sung, to relegate other revolutionaries to a proper position because they really don't deserve all the respect and adoration that we've been giving them. Of course, we can always give people respect and appreciation for the work they've done in the past but we must never confuse the work that a man has done in the past with the work that he is doing now. And we should never let the great work that someone has done in the past stop us from giving someone credit for the great work thats being done right now and I think that Comrade Kim Il Sung towers far and above anybody else in the world today who functions in terms of a Marxist-Leninist theorist on the international scene and thats including Mao-Tse-tung and any of the revisionists in the Soviet Union. So that in the future I will be sending you quite a bite of material, he has a lot of speeches and pamphlets and things out that are very nice and you can either

reprint them or we can send you enough copies so you could send them around to the branches of the Party.

I do think that the Black Panther Party should introduce the thinking of Comrade Kim Il Sung into Political Education Classes and a great effort could be made to spread the teachings of Comrade Kim Il Sung all over the United States to let the man's image flourish. So I'll send you some pictures of the man and maybe there is some in the pamphlets that can be reproduced but there are some right after these. I'll give you some film and other documents that you will find very useful, but I can't over emphasize the importance of taking a step and holding high the name of Comrade Kim Il Sung on the international level. As far as I'm concerned Comrade Kim Il Sung is on the international level to us, what Brother Huey P. Newton the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party is to us inside of the United States and I think that we will all know this before the deal goes down.

One other point that I just want to mention, in terms of my own thinking, I know that many of us have had problems with the term working class and it just really became very clear to me the game that has been run on us and also the game we have run on ourselves by letting the racists in the United States steal our identities from us.

Because of the type of people employed, the employed people are racists and that's the way I relate to them. I know that I always find difficulty in relating to the working class but if its really a mistake to feel that way because Black people - because what the working class really means. Proletarians, those who do not own the means of production in this broad sense. Proletarians as a class is much more extensive then the membership in the AFL and the CIO or the number of people who happen to be employed or even those who are unemployed. The working class includes all of us, so Black people surely are members of the working class in the United States and our struggle is a class struggle and we often have the ethnic problems to deal with but we should never let the racists put us in a position of forgetting that we are valid members of the working class and we are the Vanguard of the working class in the United States and that should never be lost sight of.

Comrade Kim Il Sung is truly a gigantic figure. Trying to convey my conception of the man, I can only go back to conquerers like Genghis Kahn, Attila The Hun for comparison, except that they conquered from a very aggressive ethic, it was an anti- - I don't want to be humanatarian but it was an anti-humanistic ethic involved in the carnage and the

whole approach to the situation that was used in those days but Comrade Kim Il Sung is a socialist. He is a Marxist-Leninist. He's a revolutionary, he's an internationalist and the man has embodied the major transformation of our time. He has trans - he represents the transformation of this conquering ethic of great Asiatic leaders and he has transposed this conquering ethic and his conquest ethic from this big inhumane _____ approach to things to a very humanistic ethic of Socialism and he's moving first to conquer and exterminate imperialism in the name of the people, for the benefit of the people and I think that on that basis it could be embraced and the man is truly a great leader of the working class. So that I don't have any hang-ups like a lot of these white people have about giving credit to an Asiatic man.

During the conference that's one of the things that became very clear. That you almost have to go back in history to the division between the Occident and Orient to really get to the foundation of this - the age-old concept between Europeans and Asiatics and the rest of the world in general. It really shows some of the reasons why the revisionists are moving closer and closer to the imperialist and capitalist west because on a very deep level white people are up-tight.

It is very clear during that, this conference even though these people from these European countries who we are talking about were Socialist but they were relating and reacting on the basis of race and this is a very fundamental problem, something that we have to take careful note of because there is going to be an international showdown. It should be an international showdown on the basis of proletarian internationalism and the class struggle and class principles of Marxist-Leninism but it is very clear that the Europeans aren't able to dig this and so they are revising Marxist-Leninism and shoving it under the rug in order for them to unite on the basis of their whiteness and I don't know just how deep this is, if its too deep to stop or if its too strong a chain to reverse, but I do know that we are already confronted with this. We already are grapping with this and so we better be prepared in our minds to deal with it because it's a major problem.

There was quite a bit of written material being produced in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and we will be sending it to you to give you a greater insight into what this is all about and I want to specifically ask [redacted] to review these pamphlets written by

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Comrade Kim Il Sung and to give me your reaction to it because I think that we can really use it in the Party.

The Marxism and Leninism that we've been studying mostly comes out of the Soviet Union. Some of it comes out of China and its inevitable that a lot of their ideological positions will be smuggled into our minds along with the revolutionary principles that we are seeking and we need that material. So I think that Comrade Kim Il Sung's position on many of these problems offers a very needed, a very strong antidote to some of the dogmatism and revisionism that has been peddled by these other people in the world.

I'm really very sorry that [redacted] wasn't able to make this trip. It was the type of trip I think [redacted] would really enjoyed and interested in it by seeing some of the revolutionary art that the Koreans are producing he would find that he could endorse it 100 per cent because it was like looking at some of his work to see the revolutionary ideas done by these people. b6 b7C

You talk about relating to the gun. These people really relate to the gun on a deep level and what they want to do is off Yankees and thats - there ain't no bull shit about that. They have a very fabulous museum. It's typical in

dealing with the two phases of the history that they are most related to. As I said earlier, this country was occupied by the Japanese imperialists for about 40 years and Comrade Kim Il Sung liberated this country from the Japanese, he organized guerilla bands in 1932 and he waged an unrelenting guerilla war against the Japanese imperialists for 15 years until he finally drove them out of the country and they weren't liberated but - for three to four years when the United States imperialists came in and they had to fight them again.

I'm sure you've all heard of Heartbreak Ridge. Well I was there when it happened and I know what it is all about now and I didn't understand that before.

I was saying about the museum. One museum is devoted to the struggle against the Japanese Imperialists and the other is devoted to the struggle with the U. S. Imperialists. And in these museums they don't leave anything out. They have whole tanks, the whole airplanes, all the armament captured, things like that, that really depicts in realistic form the aggression that's been perpetrated against these people by both the Japanese and the Americans. They have uniforms of the crew of the Pueblo, helicopters that were shot down, all kinds of information and physical objects that give you a clearer view of what they've been dealing with.

The posters are fantastic. I will be sending you a few of these. I think that you really will dig them and relate to them and nothing can be a substitute, for being here, to just be here to see the beautiful country, the beautiful people, there's flowers everywhere and the air is scented from these flowers and the people here are really happy, that's why we're made to say that the people are not fake likeyou find in many other countries where if you ask them what's going on they just give the party line and tell you that everything is o.k. but really they're miserable and this is easy to see through the facade that they put up. That's not the case here. The people here are really united, they are receiving very deep and intensive political education, they have been receiving this and they've been receiving it from the cradle to the grave and this country is organized and it's mobilized and it's industralized and it's aggressive toward the task of destroying United States Imperialism.

So that what has happened, is that Comrade Kim Il Sung has stepped into the vacuum in the international communist movement, that's been left by the conflicts between the revisionists and the dog-matics and what he is doing, he's calling upon all of the small countries and telling them that,

that they have power. People who are not liberated and still fight for their freedom, he has offer them a theoretical analysis and a strategy and tactic for them to follow in their pursuit of securing their liberty and in gaining their liberation and he's doing this because the Soviet Union has turned traitorous toward the working class and Chinese Communists have erected another Chinese wall, this time it's an ideological wall and Comrade Kim Il Sung is stepping forward seriously to carry forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to further elaborate the very creative theories of Marxism and Leninism and to tie them to the new situation and this man has done some theoretical work that has never been before and that is sorely needed by the international communist movement.

Now I would like to see the Black Panther Party take a leading role in spreading the word of Comrade Kim Il Sung because I have no doubt that it will be spread. It's being spread right now and many people are going to be talking about Comrade Kim Il Sung so it would only be right for the Black Panther Party being the Vanguard of the revolution in the United States to take the Vanguard role in spreading the name of Kim Il Sung, the image of Kim Il Sung, and the thought of Kim Il Sung. If there's anybody who needs it, it's the

revolutionaries in the United States as split up as they are into all - this is jive splinter groups and factions, particularly white revolutionaries and I think that the teachings of Comrade Kim Il Sung will put an end to a lot of that bull shit and it will be to the benefit and to the credit of the Black Panther Party to play a leading role in introducing the thought of Comrade Kim Il Sung.

REPORT OF [redacted]

This is [redacted] I'm speaking as [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

We came here to Korea, we were greeted very well. We were greeted on the level that our party should be recognized as revolutionary and seriously attempting to change the system within the United States.

We spent several days before the conference touring some of the historical landmarks throughout Korea. We visited several museums, some other places. We saw a lot of the evidence and remains of war here. At one place in particular which impressed Eldridge a lot..quite a bit was a town called Chin Chang. This place has significance in that the scumlous pigs completely destroyed this town, they herded, I'm not sure of the number, but I know it was quite over 100 women into something like a big barn and they left them there for awhile and then brought them out and slaughtered them. They also took ..... 400 at a time man ..... 400 at a time big brother? Yes, that's what it was 400 at a time suppose. They also took the children of this town and put them in a ... what was originally an air raid shelter, down in the ground, small,

open and ark, cement walls. They put these children down in there and like _____ Nazi Germany they shot gas down at them but this is where there's gasoline and they burned them alive and so you know that the pigs were over there doing their bit. Many of these same pigs are now wearing blue uniforms, whatever color they run around in patrol cars and then call themselves police in our communities.

We see a very thin line separating one from this action and taking this action. Anyway, at this conference, world conference of journalists against imperialism started there were some 220 delegates around the country there.

This conference represented more than just a group of journalists getting together to agree on denouncing United States Imperialism, it represented a move that was being made in the Third World, our Third World Country. The country of course is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This move was well, in essence was approved. I think the half of this was to form a triangle to Korea, Cuba and Hanoi but it didn't seem to come out that way but I think it turned out much better than even the planners had anticipated. We find that the whole socialist block in Europe was a big sell out, they did not want to recognize the liberation struggle in the

United States, at all and attempted to belittle the movement in referring to it as some type of anti-racist struggle.

But the strongest movement that we've seen that related to the entire situation, our struggle in the United States, their struggle and the struggle around the world against imperialism, we can say is El Fatah and some liberation movements in Africa.

Of course, the Koreans relate very heavily. When the conference started we got word that the Russian delegation had just arrived, this caused a little bit of stir among the conference, it was immediately rumored that the Russians were going to try and push some type of declaration through. Eldridge and I knew immediately that when the Russians came that they would attempt to pressure the other delegates into taking their view, whatever their view would be. Of course, we know it was going to take some type of revisionist line.

After the conference got under way there was a lot of speeches given which was long in time. I think our longest day was about 17 hours. We sat in the conference room but after the conference came to a close and it was time for a declaration to be adopted by the conference, the Russians wanted to take a

very soft line, of course that would mean downing what the Koreans had anticipated to do. So there was quite a bit of struggle and argument over the wording of the declaration.

The significant turning point of the whole conference was when Brother Eldridge went to the lectern to address the conference and the speech, in his speech he made a sharp demarcation between revisionism and revolution. This was done mostly by the things he pointed out on Romania. This put a whole lot of the European socialist countries uptight because that brought into the conference a line that would have to be taken, either a strong revolutionary stand or a soft revisionist line towards United States Imperialism. After it was brought out it kind of brought everything down to earth. All the members of the conference with the exception of the European socialist countries, sided with this position, although later some of them tried to manipulate through that position, but after bringing to focus a sharp line to be taken either one side or the other it put the Russians very uptight because none of the delegates there were ..... were from liberation movements, Africa or Latin America.

Of course, the Vietnamese, Laosians, Cambodians and Asians were there even Japanese delegates.

After his speech and by his applause and during later several other delegates, more or less echoing some of his same views, receiving similar applause kind of developed a trend for the whole conference.

So when it came down to the signing or the adopting of the declaration for the conference the Russians were somewhat uptight because they knew that the conference would never accept a soft revisionist line, so what they wanted to do was to try and put a declaration over on the conference which would appear to be a strong line but which actually would be worded in such a way as they could say to the conference it would be a strong line, but it would really be a soft line.

The Koreans of course would not stand for this, and some of the other delegates that was in on the group drafting the final declaration.

Of course the delegation of the Black Panther Party wasn't allowed to be in on this but the Koreans very well expressed our point of view by their stand.

After the declaration was adopted it basically signified a defeat for the Russians and a victory for the Third World because it was a very strong stand. A very strong wording of the declaration. It was not as strong as Eldridge

and I would of liked to have been but it signified that Korea now was going to determine the rhetoric and the strategy for moving against the United States Imperialism for the Third World.

This whole move was planned and brought _____ about by Comrade Kim Il Sung. He not only gathered delegates from all over the world but did research on some of them so that CIA was kept out of the conference.

Of course we imagine that they got in there perhaps by way of Indonesia delegates or some other reactionaries but the whole thing was planned by Comrade Kim Il Sung and the extent to which the Koreanshad prepared their cities to welcome us, the receiption we received in every place we went, the organization that they have in order to handle all the delegates, all they need, the subject shows that a great deal of planning and energy went into this.

As I stated before it was not just because this is a conference of journalists from around the world on anti-imperialism but because the very significant move made by a Third World country for the Third World and this position as taken and being led Comrade Kim Il Sung is directly opposed to

what the revisionist socialist countries are trying to do and of course stands in dialectrical opposition to fascists in Babylon.

All I have to say it it's more than just ..... it would be more and just a good thing for us to unite with this move that's being made. It's a necessity.

Our struggle against the fascists within the United States does not just end say at the border of Canada or at the border of Mexico. It will be very difficult if not impossible to destroy fascists within the United States by simply moving on them, within the United States because they are very well established and rooted around the world. If it was even conceivable that we could destroy fascism within the United States then we will be faced with imperialist aggression by the United States Imperialists outside the United States. So we just cannot move against them within the United States alone but we're going to have to link parties in the struggle up to the international struggle, to move against them wherever they are rooted.

The theoretical, strategic and tactical line that have been laid out to great detail by the leader of the Korean people Kim Il Sung I think is an excellent plan. I don't even

know if excellent is a good word for that. I think it's a workable plan so if .... say it's workable then maybe it's perfect plan. I think that many of the strategical and tactical lines that he has developed for being with the United States Imperialism can be used right within the United States.

Eldridge and I are doing a lengthy report on this now, we haven't quite finished it. We will not finish it perhaps for another week but as soon as we do, of course, we will get it to you brothers and sisters.

The entire situation of United States fascism and United States Imperialism has come into very sharp focus to us; for instance, when I was in Cuba there were many things that were discussed and we were trying to interpret them through our experiences in Babylon or in Cuba and many things were still very vague. We even encountered this in Algiers but since we have been here in Korea, discussed various things among the delegates and seeing exactly how Comrade Kim Il Sung has handled the contradictions within this country faced United States Imperialist aggression, even before that when he for 15 years fought against Japanese Imperialist aggression, many

things had come into very sharp focus. The matter of building the party or stretching it so that not only will it be a Vanguard political organization but where it will be able to lead the masses to revolutions, to build a revolution and battle line and to successfully carry out that revolution until the final victory.

Eldridge and I have spent months in conversation in discussing things and there was so many things that were vague to us because we did, not were not able to take into consideration many things but these things have been laid out before us and they have been explained and with our experiences in battle line and through being able to interpret these things we see directly where they are applicable to our struggle there and the struggle to imperialism throughout the world.

As soon as we finish a report on these things and send to you brothers and sisters then you can dig exactly what I'm trying to run here.

In the United States I think Eldridge mentioned earlier about .... I don't know if he did or not but you know that they may be doing a three fold line. That is Maoists, the Soviet revisionists and the anarchists or Trotskyites or whatever you want to put that Third Line but you see none of these

lines have really answered our problem, fascism within the United States. None of them have really brought into sharp focus necessary resolving our contradiction there, in fact the best they had did was hunted at them and many cases they haven't even did that. We see examples of an indication here, that Mao has a hell of a thing going on in China, for China but he hasn't expanded that outside the border of China. They are going to ..... I don't know what they call another closed door or wall around China or something and it's like we've been relating to them but they haven't really been relating to us, and of course we know that the revisionists are not really saying nothing. They're talking about peace and we got the man's gun stuck off in our backs and in our chests and the anarchists, Trotskyites lines are just thinking about confusion but the line Comrade Kim Il Sung is working out with the co-operation of the Third World is we can't say its the Korean line because he is not really seeing the line as belonging to Korea or to any country in specific.

Let me give you an example. Now [redacted] is putting forth the program, the United States Front Against Fascism. Exactly what the name implies a United Front Against Fascism. O.K., now this faces the fascist policies or let me say the

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front the fascist policy of United States Government, and we can't say that such a program is a Black Panther Party program, it's a program of the people to confront fascism and this move that is being made by Kim Il Sung is the exact same thing but on the internationa level. We can in fact term this as the United Front Against United States imperialist aggression and imperialism, but just as the United Front Against Fascism in the United States lets out PL, and some of them other jackanapes who are not interested in nothing but confusion so it's this move that's being made by Comrade Kim Il Sung is leaving out a lot of jackanapes that don't want to bring nothing but confusion and you see underlying his basic strategy is that Russia has proved that it ain't going to do a God damn thing to bring it into United States aggression around the world as big as it is with all its bombs, it's afraid to even bring forth the ten point of the Black Panther Program to the United Nations. And China isn't going to do it because Mao has gone off into a bag and he's talking about his number one enemy, the Russians.

Comrade Kim Il Sung has seen that none of the big countries are going to do it, so it's going to have to be done by the little countries and the only way the little countries can do it is to break away from all dependence, break away from all

idealogical, social, economical, and all forms of connection with the big countries and to come together with themselves and move against United States imperialist aggression.

Now you brothers and sisters remember what Che said about creating four, five or six Vietnams.

Of course this hasn't been said anywhere around Korea verbally but this is what ComradeKim Il Sung is making his move to do. But this is the impression we get from the whole structural analysis of what he's attempting to do.

This is part of the impression that we get, not that he would open up fronts himself or have other countries open up fronts themselves but structuring and coordinating their movement, revolutionary movements throughout the world in such a way they can experience those front that they have already opened such as the guerrillas in Venezuela, Peru, all the Latin American countries and African countries and Asian countries just seeing that, that the guerrilla fronts they have already opened up into heavy armed struggle against United States imperialism. And this move is going to be made, I mean ..... what I mean is going to be made, it's being made but it's going to come to full realization and unless we cambring our struggle to the national, to the international level then we're going to be

cut off from the struggles around the world and our revolutionary struggles inside Babylon will be against fascism but will not answer the problems that we are faced with, strong armadas that the United States pigs have around the world that can move from the outside on us in Babylon. I know you can say that the factories and all that shit can be destroyed, etc., but the pigs have factories outside of the United States and it's going to take the joint efforts of all the struggling people in the world. I mean the revolutionary movement, it's our movement in the United States to put an end to the pig.

Now it's going to take some ..... well let me go back a minute, there's an importance in like for instance substituting that Maoists type a shit going on now in the United States now for Kim Il Sung because we have got to build a consciousness to this cat, to the Korean situation, to his writings, etc., that when these programs and things that Eldridge and I are trying to work out now to send to you brothers to have all you work over and shoot them into the party and out like it's best suited for you all to handle, that brothers and sisters and to other revolutionaries in the United States can relate to them.

You see from having contact with other revolutionary

movements, most all of them in Africa, well I'm saying most of all of them. I think Eldridge had contact with all of them in Africa and dealt with them and looked closely into their movements to see what they're doing, etc., in many Latin America and Asia.

We see that the Black Panther Party has developed properly in accordance to contradiction within the United States but that it must continue to develop along these proper lines.

Now there is some danger that it may not do this and this is what we're very and most concerned with, at this time. This is why we want to get these, hurry and get these reports we have that we're working on hurry and get them finished and get to your brothers and sisters so that you all can check them out and relate to them and I'm quite sure you will relate to them in the best manner you see fit and to implement them and whatever structural change you might see necessary for them.

Well, look brothers and sisters, I'm going to have to stop now. Eldridge will finish the rest of this type I'm going to have to finish working on these reports and things. But all power to the people and right on.

SECOND REPORT OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

This is Eldridge again. I think it ..... we'll just let this stand as our first report on our visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and we'll give you a further and more detail systematic report at a later date.

I'd just like to reiterate that I'm sending you some material and I hope that you'll be able to print them in the newspaper. If not, please send them to L and S or send them to the Penninsula Observer. Let Martinshine print them because we do feel that it's material that needs to get out.

As I said there will be much more material later on. Right now I'd just like _____ I haven't heard any late news. The last I heard [redacted] had been arrested and was being held in San Francisco County Jail and the attorneys were fighting extradition. b6 b7C

Of course, being over here we have kind of been cut off from the news. So I hope that the situation hasn't gotten any worse and the situation was dealt with ..... will be getting back to our Algeria in a few days then we'll know what the situation is and I'll be getting in touch with you by then.

All power to the people, power to the Vanguard and right on.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP)was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 22 1970

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 06-20-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL PE

NR 002 SF CODE

1039AM URGENT 2-22-70 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-165706 SUB 84)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (88-12329) (157-2871) 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, ~~AKA~~ also known as - FUGITIVE, ~~WF~~ WANTED FLYER FOUR FOUR SEVEN, ~~UFAC~~ Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement -

ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; ~~RM~~ RACIAL MATTER - ~~BPP~~ BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ~~OO:~~ OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RM

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[redacted] member of Black Panther Party SCANDANAVIAN BPP REPRESENTATIVE AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF CLEAVER, BPP MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND ~~PV~~ PAROLE VIOLATOR FUGITIVE FROM STATE OF CALIFORNIA, CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, BERKELEY, CALIF., FROM COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO, INSTANT, REPORTING FOLLOWING:

CLEAVER IS ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN A "DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT" WHICH WILL ENABLE HIM TO TRAVEL FROM ALGIERS TO PARIS WHERE HE IS TO SPEAK ON THE BOBBY SEALE SITUATION MONDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE, NEXT.

END PAGE ONE

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9 FEB 27 1970

EX 110

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FEB 1970

TELETYPED TO:
FBI

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MAR 2 1970

Cable Channel To Paris 2/22/70 WHA: [illegible]

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IF CLEAVER CANNOT GET THE PASSPORT, A TAPE OF CLEAVER'S SPEECH WILL BE SENT TO PARIS FOR [redacted] TO PRESENT TO THE UNIDENTIFIED AUDIENCE.

[redacted] SAID IF CLEAVER DOES OBTAIN THE PASSPORT "SHE AND ELDRIDGE ARE GOING TO BLOW."

[redacted] SAID [redacted] HOME PHONE [redacted] [redacted] BUSINESS PHONE [redacted] IN PARIS, IS AWARE OF SITUATION AND [redacted] CAN BE CONTACTED THERE. b6 b7C

NO ~~ADDITIONAL~~ Additional Information RECEIVED CONCERNING TIME AND PLACE OF CLEAVER'S PROPOSED APPEARANCE IN PARIS, WHAT COUNTRY MIGHT ISSUE PASSPORT, OR EXACTLY WHAT [redacted] MEANT BY STATEMENT SHE AND ELDRIDGE ARE GOING TO BLOW.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [redacted] b2

(SF T-SIXTEEN).

REQUEST BUREAU FURNISH ABOVE TO LEGAT, PARIS, WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO ALERT APPROPRIATE AGENCIES FOR CLEAVER'S POSSIBLE APPEARANCE IN PARIS AND TO FOLLOW HIS ACTIVITIES IF HE DOES APPEAR.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW CLOSELY AND KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.

END

~~PAGE TWO PARA FOUR RECVD GARBLE. FIRST HTHREE WORDS SHD THAT BE NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION? RECVD HERE NO ADDIAIORMATION GA SHLD BE "NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION"~~

RNK FBI WASHDC

Mr. Gale, Mr. Rosen & Liaison Section

CC-MR. SULLIVAN

SECRET

February 24, 1970

SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Attached teletype reports information received from San Francisco source indicating [redacted], Black Panther Party (BPP) newspaper, who recently returned to San Francisco after five month BPP promotional tour in Europe, received telephone call from Identification Order fugitive Leroy Eldridge Cleaver instructing [redacted] to immediately join Cleaver. [redacted] was instructed to contact [redacted] (active BPP supporter in Paris, France) with travel schedule. No indication Cleaver has departed Algeria or received passport for travel to Paris as originally reported. [redacted] LEGAT, Paris, being advised. (3)

b1
b6
b7C

SECRET

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-20-2031

JRF:seg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-29-2006

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 23 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHE

TELETYPE

NR 002 SF CODE

351PM URGENT 2-23-70 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-165706)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (157-2871) 3P9

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

also known as
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, UFAC FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC -
ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RM

also known as
[redacted] OF BPP NEWSPAPER,
RECENTLY RETURNED TO BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, BERKELEY, CALIF.,
AFTER FIVE MONTHS IN EUROPE PROMOTING SUPPORT FOR BPP.

CLEAVER CONTACTED [redacted] BY TELEPHONE THIS DATE INSTRUCTING [redacted] TO JOIN HIM IMMEDIATELY, TONIGHT IF POSSIBLE, AND BRING SOMEONE WITH HIM. [redacted] AGREED AND SAID WOULD BRING ONE OF THE BROTHERS, BUT DID NOT NAME HIM.

CLEAVER INSTRUCTED [redacted] TO CALL [redacted] OR [redacted] WHEN HIS TRAVEL SCHEDULE IS FORMULATED BECAUSE HE (CLEAVER) MAY BE HARD TO REACH.

END PAGE ONE

b6
b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

1 XEROX
FEB 1970

TELETYPED TO:
60 APR 9 1970

EX 110 REC-21

17 FEB 27 1970

[redacted] A RESIDENT OF PARIS, FRANCE, IS AN ACTIVE BPP (Black Panther Party) SUPPORTER AND [redacted] IS A FORMER ASSOCIATE OF CLEAVER IN ALGERIA WHOSE WHEREABOUTS ARE UNKNOWN.

THERE WAS NO CLEAR INDICATION WHERE CLEAVER WAS LOCATED AT THE TIME HE CONTACTED [redacted] HOWEVER, THE ABSENCE OF FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS BY CLEAVER TENDS TO INDICATE HE IS STILL IN ALGERIA. CLEAVER SAID HE WOULD CALL [redacted] TO DETERMINE [redacted] TRAVEL PLANS INDICATING HE IS NOT WITH HER.

b6
b7C

THERE WAS NO FURTHER MENTION OF CLEAVER GETTING A PASSPORT OR ANY PLANS TO TRAVEL TO PARIS. HOWEVER, IT IS SPECULATED BY SAN FRANCISCO THAT CLEAVER, BEING UNABLE TO TRAVEL TO PARIS, WANTS [redacted] TO REPRESENT HIM THERE.

END PAGE TWO

~~CC- MR. SULLIVAN~~

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO LAST.

SOURCE IS [redacted].

SAN FRANCISCO FOLLOWING CLOSELY FOR FURTHER PLANS BY CLEAVER AND TRAVEL PLANS FOR [redacted]

[redacted] IS IN BLACK NATIONALIST ALBUM.

b2
b6
b7C

REQUEST BUREAU FURNISH TO ~~LEGAT~~ LEGAL ATTACHE, PARIS, WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO ALERT APPROPRIATE AGENCIES TO [redacted] PENDING PLANS TO TRAVEL TO EUROPE.

END

REM FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

SECRET

SPECIAL INVESTIGATI[redacted] DIVISION

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT 2/27/70
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Attached teletype reports the departure of [redacted] of the Black Panther Party newspaper, from San Francisco for Paris, France and ultimate visit with identification order fugitive Leroy Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers.

Legat, Paris [redacted] previously been advised of [redacted] travel to meet Cleaver. (S)

JRF

DATE: 06-21-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-21-2031

b1
b6
b7C

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-20-2006

SECRET

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

70

NR 008 SF CODE

310PM URGENT 2-26-70 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-165706 SUB 84)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (157-2871) 1P

also known as Wanted Flyer Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT; RACIAL MATTERS RM - BPP BLACK PANTHER PARTY

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RM RACIAL MATTER

OR

[redacted] BLACK PANTHER PARTY OF BPP NEWSPAPER, OBSERVED DEPARTING SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, TWELVE FIFTYFIVE P.M., THIS DATE, BY BUAGENTS ON TWA FLIGHT SEVEN SIXTY TO ARRIVE IN PARIS, TWELVE TWENTY P.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN NEXT. [redacted] TRAVELLING ALONE AND UNDER TRUE NAME. [redacted] IS TICKETED FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO ALGIERS BUT FLIGHT FROM PARIS TO ALGIERS IS UNCONFIRMED.

b6
b7C

PURPOSE OF TRAVEL IS FOR [redacted] TO VISIT CLEAVER IN ALGIERS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SFTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX INSTANT.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

BKR FBI WASHDC

EX 110
REC 9 100-447251-

105-165706-84

MAR 3 1970

MAR 1 1970

TELETYPED TO: XEROX

MAR 4 1970

CC: MR. GALE

CC-MR. ROSEN CC- MR. SULLIVAN

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

SECRET

DATE: 06-21-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-21-2031

TELETYPE

FEB 26 1970

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Sowars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STATE 260

DEFERRED 2-26-70

PARAPHRASE

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT PARIS NO. 21

(0)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; RM-BPP

SUPVR. 1511

b6
b7C

REBUCAB FEBRUARY TWENTY FIVE LAST.

[redacted]

b1

(S)

[redacted] PARCAB FEBRUARY TWENTY FOUR LAST MENTIONED MEETING ON FEBRUARY TWENTY THREE LAST AT WHICH [redacted] SPOKE. FURTHER DETAILS ARE BEING OBTAINED REGARDING THAT MEETING AND THE BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

RECEIVED 11:44AM BKR/JDH

100-447251-780

REC- 56

10 MAR 2 1970

1 XEROX
FEB 1970

F96

SECRET

CC- MR. SULLIVAN
3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

54 MAR 10 1970

RACIAL INTEL SECT.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEB 24 1970

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

NR 002 SF CODE

245PM URGENT 2/24/70 CMC

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-165706 SUB 84)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (157-2871) 3P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, W.F. FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT; RM - BPP. BLACK PANTHER PARTY - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RM.

[redacted] CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, FROM PARIS, FRANCE, A.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR INSTANT, INQUIRING AS TO [redacted] TRAVEL PLANS TO VISIT CLEAVER. SHE IS TOLD [redacted] CANNOT GO TO EUROPE SINCE HE IS NEEDED IN U.S., DURING [redacted] FORTHCOMING TRIAL IN CONNECTICUT AND ALSO BECAUSE BPP HAS NO FUNDS FOR SUCH TRAVEL.

b6
b7C

100-447251-781
REC-47
9 MAR 3 1970

WRIGHT SUBSEQUENTLY RECONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS SAME DATE, STATING SHE CONVEYED THE MESSAGE TO [redacted] CLEAVER WHO SAID, IT IS "TERRIBLY ESSENTIAL IN LONG-TERM

b6
b7C

END PAGE ONE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-165706-84

TELETYPED 59 MAR 9 1970

MAR 4 1970

INTEREST" FOR [redacted] TO VISIT HIM IMMEDIATELY AND THAT CLEAVER WILL REIMBURSE [redacted] FOR TRAVEL EXPENSES.

[redacted] ADVISED [redacted] HE MUST CONSULT [redacted] BEFORE HE CAN AGREE TO THE TRIP. [redacted] URGED [redacted] TO MAKE THE TRIP IMMEDIATELY AND SAID HE NEED STAY ONLY ONE OR TWO DAYS. [redacted] PROMISED TO GET A DECISION FROM [redacted] IMMEDIATLEY AND ADVISE HER.

b6
b7C

[redacted] ALSO REPORTED THAT CLEAVER DID NOT ARRIVE IN PARIS NIGHT OF FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE LAST AS HE WAS SUPPOSED TO. [redacted] SAID SHE AND [redacted] TRIED TO TALK SENSE INTO CLEAVER, BUT HE IS A MAVERICK. [redacted] SAID CLEAVER COULD NOT "OBTAIN GUARANTEES" AND DECIDED NOT TO GO TO PARIS. IN CLEAVER'S ABSENCE, [redacted] SPOKE TO THRITYFIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE ON FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE LAST. NO DETAILS OF THIS MEETING GIVEN.

CLEAVER'S EXACT WHEREABOUTS WERE NOT REVEALED, BUT INDICATIONS ARE HE IS STILL IN ALGERIA.

SAN FRANCISCO IS OF OPINION CLEAVER ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN A GUARANTEE THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ARREST

END PAGE TWO

AND EXTRADITE HIM TO U.S., BUT WAS UNABLE TO DO SO.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RESFTELS FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO AND TWENTYTHREE LAST.

SOURCE IS [redacted] (SF T-SIXTEEN). b2

REQUEST BUREAU FURNISH TO LEGAT PARIS WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO ADVISE APPROPRIATE AGENCIES OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, TO DETERMINE IF CLEAVER HAS ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN A GUARANTEE OF SAFE PASSAGE INTO FRANCE, AND TO ARRANGE TO BE ADVISED IF CLEAVER ENTERS OR ATTEMPTS TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENTER FRANCE.

See Bu Ltr 2-25-70

SAN FRANCISCO WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW CLOSELY FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING CLEAVER'S PLANS AND TRAVEL PLANS OF [redacted] b6 b7C

END

REW FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

SECRET

DATE: 06-21-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3,3(6) 06-21-2031

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : Director, FBI 2/27/70

FROM : Legat, Bern (88-24) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUG;
I.O. 4239
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
OO - San Francisco

[redacted] FUG:
[redacted] aka. FUG
CAA - PIRACY; KIDNAPING
OO - Atlanta

[redacted] - FUG;
[redacted] - FUG;
CAA - PIRACY
OO - Los Angeles

Re Bulet 12/5/69 and Buairtel 1/13/70, the letter entitled "LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka. FUG."

[redacted]

b1

If any of the subjects are apprehended, it is requested that this office be informed. [redacted]

(5)

b6
b7C

(5) - Bureau
(1 - Liaison)
1 - Bern
HDG:rn
(6)

EX 110

REC-93 100-447251

18 MAR 6 1970

FUG. SUB

SECRET

53 MAR 13 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DATE: 11-26-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-26-2031

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy
Mr. Jones SUPVR.

NR 004 SF CODE

12:04PM URGENT 2-26-70 MS

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (105-165706 SUB 84)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (157-2871) 2P

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-29-2006

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT; RM - BPP

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, RM

[redacted] OF BPP NEWSPAPER, IS SCHEDULED TO DEPART SAN FRANCISCO AT TWELVE FIFTYFIVE P.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX, INSTANT, ON TWA FLIGHT SEVEN SIXTY, TO ARRIVE PARIS, TWELVE TWENTY P.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT.

PURPOSE OF THIS TRAVEL IS FOR [redacted] TO VISIT CLEAVER IN ALGIERS. CLEAVER HAS BEEN DESPERATELY TRYING TO ARRANGE FOR [redacted] TO VISIT HIM FOR SEVERAL DAYS.

b6
b7C

[redacted] HAS NO CONFIRMED RESERVATION FROM PARIS BUT HE HOPES TO LEAVE PARIS AT THREE TWENTY P.M. ON AIR FRANCE FLIGHT TWO THREE TWO THREE, TO ARRIVE ALGIERS FOUR FORTY P.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT.

EX-117 REC-73 100-447251-7834

[redacted] REPORTEDLY PLANS TO REMAIN WITH CLEAVER IN ALGIERS FROM TWENTYFOUR TO FORTYEIGHT HOURS. HIS RETURN TICKET IS OPEN. THERE IS NO INDICATION HE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED.

MAR 5 1970

END PAGE ONE

XEROX MAR 9 1970

TELETYPED TO:

XEROX MAR 17 1970

(S)

b1

b6
b7C

SEC. MAIL ROOM

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTELS FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO, TWENTHREE AND TWENTYFOUR LAST.

[redacted] IS INCLUDED IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST ALBUM. b6 b7C

REQUEST BUREAU ADVISE LEGAT PARIS.

[redacted] DEPARTURE WILL BE VERIFIED BY SAN FRANCISCO.

LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

SOURCE IS [redacted] b2

(SF T- SIXTEEN).

END AND HOLS

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

SECRET

DATE: 11-26-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-26-2031

Date: 3/6/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706, Sub 84)

FROM: LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-35) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
RM

CLASS. & EXT. BY 3908 DRK/VH
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 1,3
DATE OF REVIEW 3-6-2000

5-19-80

Enclosed are five copies each of the letter and envelope prepared for mailing to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 5-19-80 DRK/VH 3908

Re Bureau phone call 3/4/70.

The "over-types" and "run-togethers" appearing in the letter were intentionally prepared per Bureau instructions.

[redacted]

100-447251

b1

NOT RECORDED
183 MAR 20 1970

2 - Bureau (Encs. 10)
(1 - Liaison) (direct)
(2 - San Francisco)
2 - Ottawa
(1 - 157-46, CLEAVER)
RTN:lms
(8)

SECRET

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE 2-3-82

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

55 MAR 30 1970

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

SECRET

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-84-352

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-80 BY 3408 DRK/YK

100- 447251-

ENCLOSURE

MARTINIQUE HOTEL-MOTOR INN
DOWNTOWN MONTREAL EN VILLE

Dear Eldridge:

This will be a brief note so that you will be aware of my arrival and to alert you to certain undercurrents in the party which I have detected in conversation with the Brother sent here from Headquarters. As this may fall into French hands, I have not signed it. I will give you further details later.

It seems contrary to what you have heard that the matter of finances isnot so dire as you have been informed and appears to present no major problem. [redacted] is apparently capitalizing on his recent publicity and his numerous appearances and those of the Central Committee as well are bringing in a considerable amount. I get the feeling that you are being used by [redacted] and the others at this time for your public image rather than for your over-all ability to control and direct the party. This has undoubtedly occurred due to the fact you have been so far away for so long. b6 b7C

I think this is illustrated by [redacted] advice to you to remain in Algeria and not think of returning to Babylon as you are more important there. He claims that this was also [redacted] suggestion but I wonder??? You will note recently the apparent reluctance of [redacted] and the others to do what you want right away, such as your request the other day that [redacted] come to you and [redacted] tried to talk you out of it. Also the recent problem with the brother from Algeria and the sister in Paris which those at Headquarters have apparently been reluctant to act upon as yet. If you recall, this all seemed to begin after a CBS show which badmouthed the party and apparently everyone was upset with your comments in the interview.

I may be mistaken in this but from what I have heard, it looks like you fall in the category "out of sight, out of mind" and except for your name and reputation, you have become a drag to the party.

For obvious reasons, I am not sending this through the sister in Paris.

More later.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

1005 GUY - MONTREAL 107 - QUEBEC — TEL. (514-)866-4611 - TELEX 01-26557 - TELEMAX CODE LEQ

MARTINIQUE HOTEL-MOTOR INN
1005 GUY - MONTREAL 107 - QUEBEC

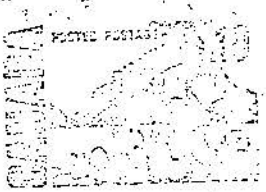
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-80 BY 3908 DRK/rh

AIR MAIL

Mr. Eldridge Cleaver
Boite Postale 118
Grande Post
Algiers, Algeria

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-80 BY 3908 DRK/rh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL



HOTEL-DIEUTER INN

AIR MAIL

Mr. Eldridge Cleaver
Boite Postale 118

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 2/27/70

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (157-2679) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(OO: San Francisco)

ReBuairtel to Albany 1/13/70.

Newark informants and sources have been alerted for any information to indicate subject contemplates return to United States under circumstances as set out in referenced Bairtel. Any such information will be immediately furnished to the Bureau and appropriate offices.

EX-102

REC-62

100-447251-185

MAR 4 1970

EXP. PROC.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
1 - Newark
JWB:aas
(4)

6 MAR 12 1970

FUG. SUP.

RACIAL INV. SECT.

b6
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 3/11/70

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (157-919) RUC

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WF #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT
AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, dated 1/13/70.

Sources familiar with the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Kansas City, Missouri, have been both contacted and alerted for any information regarding the movement of subject. None were able to furnish any positive information regarding the movement of subject, but all stated should any information come to their attention they would immediately notify the local FBI Office in Kansas City, Missouri.

The Sources contacted are being maintained in the Kansas City case file.

A+D

SI-105

REC 8 100-447251-786

2- Bureau (RM)
2- San Francisco (88-12329) (RM)
1- Kansas City
JRG:plw
(5)

10 MAR 13 1970

b6
b7C

FUG. SUP.

60 MAR 18 1970

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 3/12/70

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (157-74) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - Loc in Algeria
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLIER #447
RM-BPP;
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO:San Francisco)

Re San Juan airtel to Bureau, 2/3/70.

On 2/5 and 2/26/70, [redacted] (protect identity by request), [redacted] Vega Baja, Puerto Rico advised that he has received no information concerning the subject since last contacted by the FBI.

On 2/6/70, [redacted] advised that no information concerning the subject has come to the attention of his agency.

On 2/12/70, the following individuals were alerted by SA [redacted] concerning the possible return of subject to the U.S. and each individual was furnished a copy of subject's Wanted Flier:

[redacted]
U.S. Customs
Isla Grande Airport
San Juan, Puerto Rico

[redacted]
Assistant Port Director
U.S. Customs
Frederiksted, St. Croix
U.S. Virgin Islands

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

EX-102

REC-87 100-447251-787

MAR 16 1970

2-Bureau (RM)
1-San Francisco (88-12329) (RM) (info)
1-San Juan
JJN:mtn
(4)

FUGITIVE UNIT
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

56 MAR 23 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

On 2/26/70 [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, was recontacted by SA [redacted] and was unable to furnish any information concerning the subject. Other confidential sources of the San Juan Division have been alerted concerning subject's possible return to the U.S. b6 b7C b7D

In view of the above, no investigation is being conducted by the San Juan Division at this time.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FBI

Date: 2-27-70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (88-256)(P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE:
RM - BPP

RePARcab 2-26-70.

[redacted]

b1

4 - Bureau (Enclosures - 7)
(1 - San Francisco)
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Legat, London
3 - Paris (1-157-59;1-157-26)
NWP:jmw
(8)

DATE: 06-21-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-21-2031

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NSC~~/OSI, ~~SEC. SERV.~~,
DEPT: ISD, ~~CRD~~ IDHU, (DC 52 DU)
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW 3/13/70
BY:
1-804
1-SFR/S 3/13/70

FUGITIVE

b6
b7C

SECRET

5 MAR 19 1970

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

SECRET

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. DATE: 06-21-2006 170

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1, 6) 06-21-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

b6
b7C

A confidential source abroad furnished the following information on February 26, 1970.

(S)

b1

(S)

(S)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SECRET

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

ENCLOSURE

100-447251

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

SAC, San Francisco (157-4192) 3-11-70

Director, FBI (~~157-105700~~)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
INTERNAL SECURITY
FBI - BPP
INFORMATION (CRIME RECORDS)
100-448251

Your airtel 2-18-70.

For your information, it has been determined that [redacted] has been in contact with one [redacted] to make a number of motion pictures for that studio. b6 b7C

[redacted] who has offices in San Francisco, is considered "way out" and the type of individual who would be in contact with dissident elements. [redacted] did interest him in doing a film on Cleaver and, accordingly, [redacted] contacted Warner Brothers and was advised that Warner Brothers would have no interest whatever in producing a film on Cleaver and would not consider providing financial assistance to such a project. As far as Warner Brothers is concerned, the matter is closed.

MAILED 14
MAR 11 1970
COMM-FBI

1 - Los Angeles

1 - Mr. DeLoach (detached)
1 - Mr. Bishop (detached)
1 - Mr. Sullivan (detached)
1 - M. A. Jones (detached)

NOTE: See M. A. Jones to Bishop memo re "Allegation Regarding Proposed Motion Picture Film on Eldridge Cleaver, Warner Brothers - Seven Arts, Inc." dated 3-11-70.

GTQ:nls (9)

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

56 APR 7 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-21-2006

F B I

e: 2/12/70

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) BY _____ DATE 11-18-78

DIRECTOR, FBI (~~105-165706~~)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4123)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
PUBLICITY
RM - BPP

CLASSIFIED BY 6076WAH/Cab
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Enclosed for the Bureau are fourteen (14) copies of an LHM written in a form suitable for dissemination. It is suggested that a copy of the LHM be furnished to the Legat, Paris, inasmuch as a representative of Warner Brothers may be going to Algiers to interview ELDRIDGE CLEAVER about the proposed movie. (U)

The LHM has been classified "confidential" to protect the identity of the source.

The source utilized in the LHM is [redacted] which has the permanent symbol number of SF T-16. b2

A copy of this LHM has been designated for Los Angeles inasmuch as Warner Brothers is located in that territory.

Any progress in the development of the idea of a Warner Brothers film on ELDRIDGE CLEAVER will be promptly disseminated.

100-447257

NOT RECORDED
191 MAR 26 1970

- Bureau (Encs. 14)
- Los Angeles (Encs. 3)
- San Francisco
WJS/pb
(5)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706

ENCLOSURE

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

San Francisco, California
February 12, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
PUBLICITY

SF T-16, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 10, 1970, that he understood that Warner Brothers Films was interested in doing a film on Eldridge Cleaver. Source said that [redacted] was the individual who was working toward this project. Source further identified [redacted] as the individual who had edited the film on Huey Newton for the organization known as the American Documentary Films. [redacted] advised that Warner Brothers had money to spend on a project like this and although they intended to make a profit on the film, [redacted] was confident that they would spread some of the profit around to other places, such as to the Black Panther Party (BPP) for their cooperation in the making of the film.

b6
b7C

[redacted] suggested that this would be a good opportunity for the Party to "make some bread." [redacted] also mentioned that he would probably have to go to Algiers to interview Eldridge Cleaver in connection with this film.

[redacted] then volunteered that there were "some good people" down at Warner Brothers and they wanted to make this film.

The source had no further information concerning the Eldridge Cleaver film project at this time.

A characterization of the BPP is attached.

DECLASSIFIED ON 5-18-78
BY 10922 WNP/Cab

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 5-24-78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic Downgrading and Declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 100-447251-

[redacted]

BPP -
PUBLICITY

Eldridge Cleaver is the Minister of Information of the BPP who is presently in a fugitive status in Algiers.

Huey P. Newton was the co-founder of the BPP who is presently in a state prison, serving a term upon his conviction of the manslaughter of an Oakland, California, police officer.

[redacted]

[redacted]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

[redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA-FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 11-26-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1, 6) 11-26-2031

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 3/20/70

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER DATED 06-20-2006

FROM : Legat, London (157-120) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: SF

ReBulet to Albany 1/13/70.

[redacted] (S)

b1

[redacted] (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2)
1 - Liaison (direct)
1 - London
JTM:vw
(5)

b6
b7C

1cc let & 1cc enc
to SAC, SF
1cc let & 1cc enc
804
1/5 for info
ERS/h/s
3/27/70

~~SECRET~~

EX-117

REC 9

9 MAR 23 1970

5 APR 6 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 3-19-70

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-1491) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; aka
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLIER #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Lou in Algiers
A+D

Re Bureau airtel to Albany 1-13-70.

Logical sources of the Knoxville Division have been contacted re captioned matter; however, no information has been received to date. These sources have been alerted concerning the possible reappearance of CLEAVER in the United States by way of an underground route.

If any information is received the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately notified.

REC- 19 100-447251-190

12 MAR 23 1970

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2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (88-12329)
1 - Knoxville

HAM:
(5)

58 APR 7 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Pl

5010-108

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 3-11-70

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ALLEGATION REGARDING PROPOSED MOTION PICTURE FILM ON ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
WARNER BROTHERS - SEVEN ARTS, INC.

It will be recalled that a racial informant of our San Francisco Office provided information to the effect that Warner Brothers was interested in doing a film on Eldridge Cleaver. The informant indicated that one [redacted] who had previously edited a film on Huey Newton, was the individual who was working on this project.

In accordance with a recommendation made by Mr. DeLoach and approved by the Director, SA [redacted] was instructed to make inquiries concerning this matter at Warner Brothers Studios. [redacted] has done so and determined that [redacted] had, in fact, been in contact with an individual named [redacted] According to [redacted] who has an office in San Francisco [redacted] by reputation, is considered "way out" and the type of individual who would be in contact with dissident elements.

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b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] did interest [redacted] in doing a film on Eldridge Cleaver and that [redacted] had discussed it with Warner Brothers officials and was advised in no uncertain terms that Warner Brothers would have no interest whatever in producing a film on Cleaver and would not consider providing financial assistance to such a project. According to [redacted] Warner Brothers considers the matter closed.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC 102 100-447251-791

Inasmuch as the San Francisco Office will be interested in the above information for the further evaluation of its informant, that the attached letter to San Francisco be approved and sent.

Enclosure sent 3-14-70

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enc.
1 - Mr. Bishop - Enc.
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enc.
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - Enc.

55 MAR 24 1970

MAR 19 1970

5- [redacted]

GTQ:nls (8)

XEROX
MAR 23 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 3-13-70

FROM : LEGAT, MEXICO (100-3184) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239, WF #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

loc in Algeria

OW SF

Re Mexico City letter 2-3-70.

On 2-17-70, [redacted] (PROTECT - reliable), [redacted] (Bufile 100-395934 - described in re communication), stated that on 2-11-70 [redacted] expressed her concern for the personal safety of captioned Subject as long as he remains in Algeria. She indicated that Subject was in Algeria for the purpose of offering his services and knowledge of guerrilla warfare, but claimed that this was a dangerous thing for him to do in regard to his own personal safety. Aside from the above, [redacted] made no comment which would indicate her knowledge of Subject's whereabouts.

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No additional information concerning Subject or his plans to return from Algeria to the United States has come to the attention of this Office.

In connection with a surveillance on the residence of [redacted] mentioned in referenced letter (Bufile 105-3891), physical surveillances by [redacted] and [redacted] (PROTECT - reliable) as recent as 2-27-70 have revealed no significant information as related to captioned matter.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

5 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(2 - San Francisco, 88-12329)
1 - Mexico City

ST-116

REC 12

792

HR:wr
(6)

MAR 20 1970

See LA juring
See Bl. Rackler
3/20/70 wlc fw

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APR 3 1970

MAR 26 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

MEX 100-3184

This Office will continue to maintain close contact with logical sources for any information concerning Subject.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 3/25/70

FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (157-1069)(RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka; -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
RM-BPP;
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES
(OO: San Francisco)

All racial informants and racial sources of this office have been alerted to the necessity of obtaining any information pertaining to the possible escape route used by the subject or by other Black Panther Party members. These sources have also been alerted to the necessity for immediately furnishing any information which indicates CLEAVER may return to the U. S. or that he may be in the territory of this office.

On 1/23/70, [redacted] U. S. Bureau of Customs, Pittsburgh, Pa., was contacted and advised that there are no direct international flights into the Greater Pittsburgh Airport other than charter flights. He advised these charter flights are usually flights by private companies. [redacted] did advise that there is one Trans World Airlines flight into Pittsburgh which originates overseas at London, England, but said that this flight is checked through customs at Boston, Mass.

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On 3/16/70, information concerning the fugitive status of the subject and copies of identification orders were furnished to the two customs inspectors who are on duty at the Greater Pittsburgh Airport, [redacted] and [redacted] They both advised they would be

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (88-12323)
1 - Pittsburgh
LMC:tg
(5)

REC-110 100-447251-793

MAR 26 1970

FBI

6 APR 2 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

alert~~ed~~ for any information indicating CLEAVER might arrive at the Greater Pittsburgh Airport.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI DATE: 3/12/70

FROM : Legat, Tokyo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
- FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: SAN FRANCISCO
(Bufile 100-447251)
(TOKfile 88-20) (RUC)

[redacted]
RM - BPP
(TOKfile 157-19) (RUC)

ReBuairtel 1/13/70.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau and San Francisco are five copies of reports dated September 30, 1969, December 4, 1969, and February 11, 1970, obtained from the 502nd Military Intelligence Battalion, U.S. 8th Army, Korea, during the course of the recent Korean roadtrip, setting forth substance of the remarks made by subject [redacted] during the confrontation at Panmunjon, the Joint Security Area, Korea. In addition, there are enclosed five copies of another 502nd report, setting forth a translation of an article written by CLEAVER in "Korea Today," published by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, North Korea.

b6
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9 - Bureau (Enc. 20)
(1 - Los Angeles)(Info)
(4 - San Francisco)(157-4324)(CLEAVER)
(157-4380) [redacted]
(1 - Liaison Section)
2 - Tokyo

RVP:fo
(7)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan.
5010-108-02

Tokyo 88-20
157-19

One copy of this letter and enclosures are being forwarded to Los Angeles in order that that office might be cognizant of the threat made against [redacted] whose family resides in Los Angeles. b6 b7C

Tokyo has alerted logical sources to the possibility that subject CLEAVER might travel through this territory en route to the United States, specifically pointing out that at this time there is no information available which would tend to indicate that this is a fact, but that this warning was strictly a precautionary measure.

No further inquiry is being made at Tokyo, but in the event data of pertinence is received, it will be promptly forwarded to the Bureau.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: March 19, 1970

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) (P)

Loc in Algiers A+P

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE - IO #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(oo: San Francisco)

Re Bureau airtel 1/13/70 and Rome cables January 13 and January 21, 1970.

To date, no additional pertinent information has been developed from alerted Rome office sources in Italy and Greece concerning this matter. The Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised of any pertinent information developed.

5 - Bureau (1 - Liaison)
(2 - San Francisco 88-12329)
1 - Rome
TAK:MEG
(6)

REC 44 100-447251-795

2/05/70 SF

MAR 24 1970

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SUP.

RACIAL INTELL.

5010-108-02 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

57 APR 8 1970

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 20 1970

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

NR 013 SAN FRANCISCO PLAINTEXT

8:35 PM NITEL 3/20/70 JXR

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) 2P

OFO #4239 Locin Alpha

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA DASH FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC DASH ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT; RM DASH BPP INLET. OOSF

MARCH TWENTY ONE NINETEEN SEVENTY ISSUE OF "THE BLACK PANTHER" NEWSPAPER ON PAGE FIVE CONTAINS ARTICLE ALLEGEDLY WRITTEN BY SUBJECT DIRECTED TO U.S. SERVICEMEN IN VIET NAM WHICH STATES ". . . STOP KILLING THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. YOU NEED TO START KILLING THE RACIST PIGS WHO ARE OVER THERE WITH YOU GIVING YOU ORDERS. KILL GENERAL ABRAHMS AND HIS STAFF, ALL HIS OFFICERS. SABOTAGE SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT, OR TURN THEM OVER TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. TALK TO THE OTHER BROTHERS AND WAKE THEM UP. YOU SHOULD START NOW WEEDING OUT THE TRAITORS AMONGST YOU. IT IS BETTER TO DO IT NOW THAN TO ALLOW THEM TO RETURN HOME TO HELP THE PIGS WIPE US OUT. ESPECIALLY THE UNCLE TOM OFFICERS SHOUDL BE DEALT WITH NOW, BECAUSE THE PIGS WILL USE THEM AS

END PAGE ONE

-b6
b7C

REC-114 100-447251-796

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AJC TAM/DCG/EHL

31 1970

TELETYPED TO:

XEROX

59 APR 9 1970

1 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

63-112591-

EFFECTIVE TOOLS AGAINST OUR PEOPLE. WHEN YOU CAN NO LONGER TAKE CARE OF BUSINESS INSIDE THE ARMY, THEN TURN YOURSELF OVER TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND TELL THEM YOU WANT TO JOIN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY TO FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM AND LIBERATION OF YOUR PEOPLE . . . IF IT IS NECESSARY TO DESTROY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THEN LET US DESTROY IT WITH A SMILE ON OUR FACES. A SMILE FOR THE FREEDOM AND LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE . . . LET'S TURN NINETEEN SEVENTY INTO A YEAR IN WHICH OUR PEOPLE MAKE HEROIC DIRVE FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION ."

ADMINISTRATIVE:

LHM WILL BE SUBMITTED.

END.

CC-MR. ROSEN CC- MR. SULLIVAN

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL 3/23/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE
W.F. #447 IO#4239
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT
MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT;
SEDITION; RM - BPP

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 3/23/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination.

San Francisco will contact sources in effort to establish if in fact ELDRIDGE CLEAVER wrote the article, how it was provided to National Distribution for inclusion in the paper, who if anyone approved it for publication, and who took part in preparing it for the printer.

San Francisco will keep the Bureau advised.

ENCLOSURE

REC-87 100-447251-1798

(2) - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
5 - San Francisco
2 - 157-4324
1 - 157-1581 (BPP-Films & Publications)
1 - 88-12329 (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
1 - 157-4239

FL/jmp
(7)

1 MAR 25 1970

b6
b7C

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NFC~~, OSI, SEC, SERV., CIA, State
DEPT: ISD, ~~CRD, RAO~~, IDIU, CD (SIDU)
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW 3/31/70
BY: ERS/mm

FUGI SUP.

57 APR 10 1970 airtel + LHM - 804 9xD

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL MATTERS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

March 23, 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Copies of this memorandum have been furnished locally to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy and Air Force and to Secret Service and the United States Attorney.

The following article appeared in the March 22, 1970, issue of "The Black Panther", the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

A characterization of the BPP appears in the appendix.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 100-447251-798

TO MY BLACK BROTHERS IN VIET NAM

I'm writing this on January 4, 1970. We are starting out a new year. On August 31, I'll be 35 years old. I'm married, and I have one child with another one on the way. I am in love with my wife and I would like to enjoy a happy life raising a family. But I am not free to live the type of life that I would like. Pigs--the racist fascist rulers of the United States--won't let me.

And I would like to ask you Brothers: are you living the life that you want to live? Are these same pigs cramping your style? I don't believe that you actually prefer to be way over there, fighting against our Vietnamese Brothers and Sisters who are fighting for their freedom. Because your own people, whom you left behind in Babylon, are also fighting for their freedom against the very same pigs who have you over there doing their dirty work for them. And your people need you--and your military skills--to help us take our freedom and stop these racist pigs from committing genocide upon us, as they have been doing for the past 400 years.

I am the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, and I am speaking to you now for the Party, but I want to put a personal note into this because I know that you niggers have your minds all messed up about Black organizations, or you wouldn't be the flunkies for the White organization--the U.S.A.--for whom you have picked up the gun. The Black Panther Party has picked up the gun too, but not to fight against the heroic Vietnamese people, but rather to wage a war of liberation against the very same pigs whom you are helping to run their vicious game, on the entire world, including upon your own people. Dig it. I wonder, can you dig it? Can you dig niggers, brothers and sisters off the block, who have said later for the pigs and have picked up guns, in Babylon, to bring to fulfillment the dreams of freedom that have kept our people alive for 400 years, under the racist yoke of the White man. From the said days of slavery in the cotton fields of the South, to the present bleeding years of the Democrats, Republicans, Uncle Toms, Lyndon B. Johnson, and now, the foulist

racist pig ever to become president of the United States, Richard Meally Mouth Nixon--your Commander in Chief and the Number One Enemy of our people.

The struggle of our people for freedom has progressed to the form where all of us must take a stand either for or against the freedom of our people. You are either with your people or against them. You are either part of the solution or part of the problem. We either help our people or, by refusing to help them, make it easier for the enemy to destroy us. There are no two ways about it.

While you are over there in Vietnam, the pigs are murdering our people, oppressing them, and the jails and prisons of America are filling up with political prisoners. These political prisoners are your own Black Brothers and Sisters. We have a desperate, life and death struggle on our hands, and if we a people are going to survive, then we must save ourselves. We need your help, desperately, before it is too late.

This is the moment in history that our people have been working, praying, fighting, and dying for. Now, while the whole world is rising up with arms against our oppressors, we must make a decisive move for our freedom. If we miss this chance, this golden opportunity, who knows when we will get another chance? We cannot afford to gamble with this chance by putting things off. Now is the moment for decision. This very moment, right where you are. You do not have to wait until later, until after you are back home and out of the army. You can make your move now, while you are still inside the army, because the army is one of the key weapons which the pigs have up their sleeves to use against us when the time comes. And make no mistake about it, that time is coming and it is almost here.

The pigs are using G.I.'s from Vietnam on the police forces and National Guard units inside Babylon. Many of our Black Brothers go to Vietnam and learn how to kill human beings, then when they are released from the army they return home and end up on the police force. On the police forces, they carry out the same dirty work against us, in the name of "Law and Order" that they carried out against the Vietnamese people.

In 1968-69, the pigs murdered 28 members of the Black Panther Party and nobody even knows how many other of our Black Brothers and Sisters were shot down by the pigs. But it is a long list. Scores of our Party members are being held as political prisoners because they took a stand for the freedom and liberation of our people. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, our leader, is in prison in California. Our Chairman, Bobby Seale, is in jail and the pigs are trying to put him in the electric chair, in Connecticut, on trumped up charges. Pigs in Chicago murdered Fred Hampton while he was sleep in his bed. Shot him in his head with a shotgun, with 00 Buckshot. The pigs have been making mass arrests of our Party members, with 21 arrested in

New York, 14 in New Haven, 18 in Los Angeles, and 16 in Chicago.

We appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of your people. Either quit the army, now, or start destroying it from the inside. Anything else is a compromise and a form of treason against your own people. Stop killing the Vietnamese people. You need to start killing the racist pigs who are over there with you giving you orders. Kill General Abrahms and his staff, all his officers. Sabotage supplies and equipment, or turn them over to the Vietnamese people. Talk to the other Brothers and wake them up. You should start now weeding out the traitors amongst you. It is better to do it now than to allow them to return home to help the pigs wipe us out. Especially the Uncle Tom officers should be dealt with now, because the pigs will use them as effective tools against our people. When you can no longer take care of business inside the army, then turn yourself over to the Vietnamese people and tell them you want to join the Black Panther Party to fight for the freedom and liberation of your own people. If you do cross over, you don't have to worry about the Vietnamese people abusing you. They will be glad to see you drop out of the army because what they want most in life is to stop the fighting in their land. You have a duty to humanity as well as to your own people not to be used as murderous tools by racist pigs to oppress the people.

Think about it, Brother, and act on it, because you don't have much time. Organize all the Brothers around you and move. Force the pigs to understand that you will no longer be their slave and hired killer. Let the pigs know that, instead, you want the persecution of your Black Brothers and sisters to stop and that you intend to help stop it. Demand that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale be set free. Especially, help us force the pigs not to murder Bobby Seale in the electric chair.

We have dedicated our lives, our blood, to the freedom and liberation of our people, and nothing, no force, can stop us from achieving our goal. If it is necessary to destroy the United States of America, then let us destroy it with a smile on our faces. A smile for the freedom and liberation of our people. The Black Panther Party calls for freedom and liberation in our life time, because we want to leave behind us a decent world for our children to grow up in. Let's turn 1970 into a year in which our people make heroic drive for freedom and liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
SEIZE THE TIME!

Eldridge Cleaver,
Minister of Information
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) REG. NO. 27
5010-107-02

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 06-22-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-22-2031

3/31/70

b6
b7C

FROM : LEGAT, HONG KONG (157-9) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka-
FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(OO: San Francisco)

Re Bureau airtel, 1/13/70.

[redacted]

(6)

b1

(5)

[redacted]

(3)

EXP PROC

2cc-SF
4-9-70
JR Flad

REC- 56 700-447251-863

0-7

5-Bureau
(1-Foreign Liaison)
(2-San Francisco)
2-Hong Kong (1-157-9)
(1-157-2)

JSL:hke

APR 23 1970

APR 8 1970

b6
b7C

FUG SUP.

SECRET

[redacted]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL

HON 157-9

b6
b7C
b7D

to this office. [redacted] asked to be provided with additional identifying data relating to CLEAVER. Hong Kong is requesting additional copies of Identification Order 4239, in a separate communication to the Bureau, and those will be furnished to [redacted] upon receipt.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

4/15/70

CODE

CABLEGRAM URGENT

REC-21

TO LEGAT PARIS

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251) 804

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA. - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. OO - SAN FRANCISCO.

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

VIA TELETYPE
APR 15 1970
9 35 PM LRC
ENCIPHERED

APR 21 1970

1 - SAN FRANCISCO
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Detached)

JRF:meh:
(5)

NOTE: Legat, Paris, has been previously made aware [redacted]. Outgoing is to alert Legat, Paris, of current developments.

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

57 APR 28 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☑

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 21 1970

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

OTTAWA 02 10-04 AM JHC

URGENT 4-14-70

TO DIRECTOR ~~(100-447151)~~

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (157-46)

FBI SUPVR. 1511

AHD
Live in Algeria

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA. - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. OO - SAN FRANCISCO.

REMY AIRTEL ONE TWENTYTHREE LAST.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

REC-21

100-447251

END

PAO FBI WASH DC

14 APR 20 1970

Cable to Leg PAL, SF
JRF:mch
4-17-70

1 Xerox
CC- MR. SULLIVAN

XEROX
APR 21 1970

XEROX
APR 1970

62-112591

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

- Foreign Liaison Unit

LEGAT, Mexico City (100-3184) 5/1/70

REC-121

Director, FBI (100-447251)

ST 102

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,
aka - FUGITIVE
IO #4239, WF # 447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Re Legat, Mexico City letter dated 4/17/70, two copies of which are enclosed for San Francisco.

For information of Legat, Mexico City, subject Cleaver is presently located in Algiers, Algeria and it does not appear that any immediate possibility exists of subject's travel to Mexico.

If no other reason exists for surveillances mentioned in relet than Cleaver's possible travel to Mexico, such should be discontinued.

2 - San Francisco - Enc. (2)

MAILED 20
MAY 4 - 1970
COMM-FBI

JRF:pae:met
(7)

MAY 6 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 4/17/70

FROM : LEGAT, MEXICO CITY (100-3184) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,
aka - FUGITIVE
IO #4239, WF #447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DATE: 06-22-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AJC TAM/DCG/EHI
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-22-2031

Reference Mexico City letter 3/13/70.

Since date of referenced letter, surveillances have continued on the residence of [redacted] described in previous correspondence (Bufile 100-372502). These surveillances have been conducted by [redacted] and [redacted] (mentioned in previous correspondence) and have produced no significant information as related to captioned matter. b2 b6 b7C b7D

(S)

Close contact has been maintained with [redacted] and [redacted] sources who are in the most logical position to develop any information regarding captioned matter. No information of any significance has been developed in this regard. b1 b2 b7D

On 3/12/70 a photograph and description of the subject was furnished to [redacted] (protect - reliable) at [redacted] who advised that he would also alert his contacts in [redacted] b2 b7D

On 3/17/70 a photograph and description of the subject were furnished to [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

This office will continue to maintain close contact with logical sources for any information concerning subject.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

REC-1 100-447251-805

14 APR 27 1970

5-Bureau
(1-Liaison)
(2-San Francisco)(88-12329)
1-Mexico City
HR:kvw
(6)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-20-2031

Tolson
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. W. Gray

DATE: 22 APR 1970

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER DATED 06-20-2006

FROM : J. P. Thomas

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BPP

(S)

(S)

b1

REC 119 100-441251-806

ENCLOSURE

ZOI - Subject's last known location is in U. S.

(S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

APR 27 1970

b6
b7C

JPT:jas

CONTINUED - OVER

59 APR 30 1970

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum J. P. Thomas to Mr. A. W. Gray

(S)

If a subject who is or may be in the U. S. has not previously been considered for Security Index, information in Bureau files concerning subject should be reviewed and necessary investigation, if any, should be initiated. Reference should be made to Section 105G, 3 (page 4s), Manual of Instructions, pertaining to disaffection of United States citizens. Note particularly references therein to provisions of Section 87D, Manual of Instructions, regarding dissemination to Secret Service and handling of subjects on the Security Index. b1

(S)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 06-22-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-22-2031

TO : Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 4-1-70

FROM : Legat, Rome (157-16) (P.)

SUBJECT: [redacted] aka
RM - BPP

b6
b7C

Re Paris letter and LHM 2-10-70 and Los Angeles LHM 3-12-70.

[redacted]

b1

5 - Bureau (Enc. 6) ENCLOSURE
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Los Angeles, Info.)
(1 - San Francisco, Info.)
1 - Paris (sent direct) (Enc. 1) (Info.) (157-56)
3 - Rome (1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted])

TJB:HD
(9)

100-447251

NOT RECORDED
183 APR 15 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-449169

CLASS. & EXT. BY 7574 SCHCUM 3/13/01
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2 1.3
DATE OF REVIEW 3/13/2001

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APR 8 1970

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE
1 cc of LHM + Ltr to San Francisco + Los Angeles

[redacted]

RACIAL INTELSECT.

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], SEC. SERV., ST, CIA
DEPT: ISD, [redacted] EDW, CO/S IDU

HOW FORM: R/S
DATE FORM: 4/13/70
BY: ERS/[illegible] and LHM to 8040

56 APR 30 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

April 1, 1970

DATE: 06-22-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-22-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

[redacted]

b6
b7C

On February 6, 1970, T-1, a confidential source abroad, furnished the following account of subject's recent activities: (U)

[redacted]

T-2, another confidential source abroad, made available the following information on March 31, 1970: (U)

b1

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

PROPERTY OF THE FBI
This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

100-449257-
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 4/30/70

FROM: LEGAT, MADRID (157-3) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUG.
I.O. #4239, W.F. #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(OO: SF)

A+D
Loc. in Algiers

DATE: 06-22-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 06-22-2031

Remylet to Bureau 1/20/70.

[redacted] (S)

[redacted] (S)

b1

Our sources are aware of our interest in subject's future movements and in the event any pertinent information is received, the Bureau and San Francisco will be advised.

EXP. PROC.

40

REC-106 100-447251-808

4 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - San Francisco, Info.)
1 - Madrid
VVK:eim
(5)

1cc-SF
5-12-70
JRE

1cc-T's
P30 C-7

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1970

b6
b7C

SECRET

56 MAY 21 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 5/8/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI ~~(100-477251)~~ 100-447251

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-3315)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE
IO 4239
WF 447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT
TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

Also Lives in Algeria

On 5/7/70 [redacted] advised that she had attended a meeting of some Negro individuals who currently house and/or sponsor foreign exchange students at the University of Pennsylvania and overheard an unidentified Negro woman state that she had heard that Denmark intended to award the subject with Denmark's "Man of the Year" award. The source was led to believe that the subject was to travel to Denmark from Algeria to accept the award.

b6
b7C
b7D

The source was unable to furnish more specific information and the above is furnished to the Bureau and San Francisco for evaluation.

REC-35 100-447251-809

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
2 - Philadelphia (157-3315)
1 - [redacted]

RECEIVED-DATE 3 MAY 8 1970

b2
b7D

NWH:LLC
(6)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

91070

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boyd
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 5/7/70

FROM : Legat, London (157-120) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FUGITIVE
RM - BPP RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: SF
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT

Loc in Algiers
WF # 447
IO # 4239
A & D

ReLONlet 3/20/70.

Enclosed are two copies of a telegram dated 5/6/70 from the American Embassy, Copenhagen, to the Department of State, concerning subject.

(3) - Bureau (Encls. 2)
1 - Liaison
1 - London
JTM:cm
(5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-93 100-447251-8

EX-38

5 MAY 26 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-810

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 14 1970

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

NR18 NY CODE

855PM URGENT 5-14-70 AJN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AKA- FUGITIVE; IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN; RM- BPP; UFAC- ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. OO- SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C

REFERENCE PITTSBURGH TEL TO NEW YORK, MAY FOURTEEN, LAST.

FOR INFO OF RECEIVING OFFICES [redacted] WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT NAME QUOTE [redacted] UNQUOTE IS THE NAME USED BY [redacted] SUBJECT OF NEW YORK ONE FIVE SEVEN-FIVE ZERO NINE THREE, WHO HAS BEEN PUBLICALLY IDENTIFIED BY BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER AS [redacted] ". THIS INDIVIDUAL RECENTLY RETURNED FROM ALGERIA TO NEW YORK, ACCORDING TO AFOREMENTIONED SOURCE, AND WAS IN CONTACT WITH SUBJECT WHILE IN ALGERIA.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE ONE

REC 107 100-447251-841

XEROX MAY 1970

XEROX MAY 22 1970

MAY 21 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-112571

REVIEW OF NEW YORK TELEPHONE DIRECTORY SHOWS A LISTING FOR ON [redacted] [redacted] NYC.

NYO INDICES REFLECT THAT [redacted] WHO WAS KNOWN TO BE [redacted] WAS THE SUBJECT OF BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE - FOUR SEVEN NINE ONE SIX AND NEW YORK FILE ONE ZERO FIVE - ONE EIGHT ONE ONE EIGHT. BUREAU SHOULD SEE NYREP OF SA [redacted] DATED JULY TEN, ONE NINE FIVE SIX ENTITLED QUOTE [redacted] [redacted] IS-R; OFFICE OF ORIGIN; NEW YORK UNQUOTE, FOR FURTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

b6
b7C

BY LETTER DATED JULY TWO SIX, ONE NINE FIVE SIX, BUREAU REFUSED PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW [redacted] AT THAT TIME.

This related to IS-R interview thus no reason not to interview re this. aun

UACB, [redacted] WILL BE INTERVIEWED REGARDING WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT FUGITIVE.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

WJM FBI WA

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

5-113a (9-29-65)

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/23/70

b1

b3

Information re BPP working underground and its alliances is not new to us as considerable data has been developed regarding BPP clandestine activities and its alliances with white radical groups was exposed in Director's budget testimony.

WPD:bab

DATE: 06-22-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-22-2031

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-20-2006

SECRET

FD-[illegible] (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 5/8/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: [redacted] aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4368
UFAP - ARSON,
INCITING TO RIOT,
FAILURE TO APPEAR
OO: BALTIMORE
BUFILE 105-168197
CG FILE 88-13571 (P)

b6
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLIER #447,
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: SAN FRANCISCO
BUFILE 100-447251
CG FILE 88-12443 (C)

Declassified by 4417 12-15-76

2 - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM)
2 - Baltimore (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
6 - Chicago
1 - [redacted]
1 - 157-1291 (BPP)
1 - 157-2111 [redacted]
1 - 157-3385 (CLEAVER)

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

100-441251-

NOT RECORDED
172 JUN 8 1970

RMM:dmv
(12)

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-1093

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

51 JUN 5 1970

CG 88-13571
CG 88-12443

Re Chicago teletype to Bureau dated 5/7/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. Two extra copies of the LHM enclosed in the event the Bureau desires to disseminate to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Enclosed for each receiving office are two copies of this LHM.

CG T-1 is [redacted] b2 b7D

This LHM is classified [redacted] to protect this sensitive source.

No local dissemination is being made as only RUSH and source in Illinois Black Panther Party (BPP) are aware of information in LHM.

[redacted] AND CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS. b6 b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
May 8, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. SS-13571
SS-12443

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-22-2006

[redacted]

[redacted]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

On May 7, 1970, CG T-1 who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that according to [redacted] Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) [redacted] is currently in the company of Cleaver, a National BPP leader in exile.

b6
b7C

See appendix for characterization of BPP.

Source stated that [redacted] also indicated that Cleaver allegedly has developed a "very close relationship" with a North Korean Embassy official in Algiers who will make various weaponry available to Cleaver.

A Federal warrant was issued on May 4, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging [redacted] with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting to riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

[redacted] is described as follows:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Exempted from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

100-447251

ENCLOSURE

C[redacted]AL

[redacted]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Aliases	[redacted] and others
Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Nationality	American
Date of birth	[redacted]
Place of birth	
Height	6' 3"
Weight	180 to 185 pounds
Build	Medium
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Dark
Identification Order Number	[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]L

[redacted]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Wanted Flyer Number

FBI Number

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] and Cleaver considered armed and dangerous.

[redacted]AL

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement,".....we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

C[redacted]L

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-20-2031

1 - Mr. J.J. Casper
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore

5/6/70

1 - Mr. L.L. Anderson
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-20-2006

Airtel

100-449257 - ~~SECRET~~

To: SACs, Albany (100-19705) (Enc.)
Bell[illegible] (157-3241) "
Boston (157-654) "
Charlotte (157-6171) "
Chicago (157-1281) "
Cincinnati (157-2346) "
Cleveland (157-707) "
Denver (157-160) "
Detroit (157-3075) "
Houston (157-1352) "
Indianapolis (157-1061) "
Jackson (157-11882) "
Kansas City (100-12571) "
Los Angeles (157-1503) "
Milwaukee (157-600) "
Newark (100-49194) "
New Haven (100-[illegible]) (Enc.)
New York (100-103593) "
Norfolk (157-1303) "
Oklahoma City (157-433) "
Omaha (157-433) "
Philadelphia (157-2004) "
Pittsburgh (157-[illegible]) "
Portland (157-392) "
Richmond (105-5504) "
Sacramento (157-52) "
San Diego (100-13878) "
San Francisco (157-3371) "
Seattle (157-807) "
Springfield (157-1055) "
WFO (100-45995) "

CLASS. REASON: 1.4 c,d,e
DATE OF REVIEW 5/6/90

From: Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 84)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
LEGAL MATTERS

[redacted]

b1

All recipient offices should be alert for foreign travel by BPP members and for information tending to confirm allegations in the enclosed. Submit such data expeditiously in form suitable for dissemination.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

:dzl
(69)

MAILED 21
MAY 7 1970
COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

8 JUN 10 1970

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SECRET

Airtel to SACs, Albany
Re: Black Panther Party (BPP) - International Relations
105-165706 Sub 84

NOTE:

b1

SECRET

SECRET

SECRET

DATE: 06-20-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3,3(1) 06-20-2031

5/21/70

Airtel 1 - [redacted]

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 06-20-2006

To: **SAC, WFO**

From: **Director, FBI**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

[redacted] 100-447251 b6 b7C
RM

17469

[redacted] (S) b1

WFO review passport records at Department of State for full identifying data concerning [redacted] including his permanent residence address. Furnish results to Bureau. b6 b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

(1) - 100-447251 (Eldridge Cleaver)

ERS:drl
(5)

NOTE:

[redacted] (S) b1

SECRET

DUPLICATE YELLOW

30 JUN 1970

5/14/70

TEXT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

URGENT

TO SAC NEW YORK

FROM SA [redacted] PITTSBURGH (157-1088)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUG.; NO FOUR TWO LINCOLN BLVD, NY FOUR FOUR SEVEN; RM-NPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

PITTSBURGH SA [redacted] CURRENTLY OF AL IN SARASOTA, FLA., ADVISED ACQUAINTANCE [redacted] STATED HE WAS [redacted] RESIDES NEW YORK CITY WHO ALLEGEDLY IS CURRENTLY MAKING OR PLANNING TO MAKE MOVIE FOR BLACK PANTHER PARTY. [redacted] REPORTEDLY VISITED [redacted] AT HIS RESIDENCE, [redacted], NYC, WITHIN LAST FEW DAYS AND [redacted] REPORTEDLY TOLD HER THE QUOTE [redacted] UNQUOTE HAD JUST COME IN TO NYC. [redacted] UNDERSTOOD FROM [redacted] THAT QUOTE [redacted] UNQUOTE IS CLEAVER AND HAD ARRIVED IN NYC BY AIR DURING NIGHT OF MAY ELEVEN, LAST.

[redacted] INDICATED [redacted] MAY BE SYMPATHETIC TOWARD BPP AND [redacted] REQUESTED HER IDENTITY BE PROTECTED.

b6
b7C
b7D

100-447251-813

NOT RECORDED
2 MAY 15 1970

REC- 94

1-Bureau (100-447251) RM
1-San Francisco (88-12329) AM
1-Tampa RM
1-Pittsburgh
CRM/jw
(4)

FUG. SUP.

RACIAL MAT. SEC

54 JUN 9 1970

MAY 22 1970

[redacted]

b6
b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

PG 157-1069

NEW YORK, THROUGH LOGICAL SOURCES, ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF SUBJECT MAY HAVE RETURNED TO THIS COUNTRY THROUGH NEW YORK CITY. CHECK YOUR FILES CONCERNING [redacted] AND IF NO REASON TO CONTRARY EXISTS INTERVIEW CONCERNING SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS. b6 b7C

BUREAU,

/TAMPA AND SAN FRANCISCO ADVISED BY MAIL.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

Ensam, desperat, bitter ger Eldridge Cleaver

Gerillans revolution – det fattiga USA:s enda chans"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

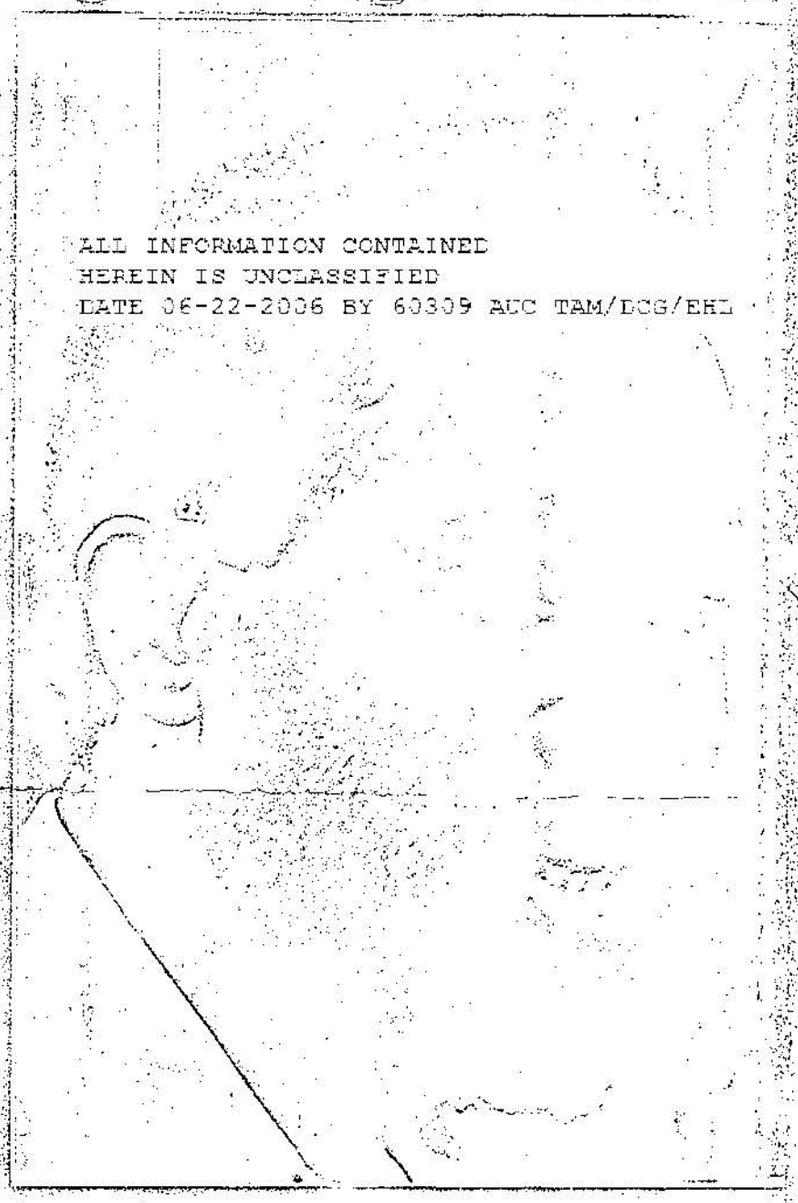


Foto: Bengt af Klercker

LEVDE MARX, LENIN, HO CHI MINH i samma exilatmosfär? Liknande dagliga problem? Samma längtan? Kanske.

Lägenheten, i en förort till Alger i Nord-Afrika, är en kombination av yttre tecken på den Tredje Världens krav, ett revolutionärt kontor och privathotell, gräsänklingens oförmåga, en författarlya, tidningsredaktion, amerikansk hemlängtan, ett förälskat pars och småbarnsfamiljs våning, och varm, öppen vänlighet, gästfrihet mot vissa.

Flyviktig plats, fem rum vars innehåll kan medverka till förändrade villkor för oss, för västvärlden. En besökare »utifrån» märker sig hålla på på tå, trippa försiktig tillgång.

Det rör sig, alla tider på dygnet, kring telefonen, en stenciltapparat och — Eldridge Cleaver, revolutionär exilpolitiker, sextiohåriga initiativtagare i USA—Nord-Amerikas Che-Guevara.

Ibland undstipper det honom: »Jag hatar Västvärldens reportrar och tidningsfotografer. Den enda grupp jag hatar, utom kapitalister, imperialister, de politiska motståndarna, förstås. Missförstånd, avsiktliga felcitat, djävligheter. Vi ber fotograferna om några bilder, de kommer — med räkning om 35 dollar styck. Oh . . .»

Jag är där under två dagar med en dags mellanrum, fem—sex timmar. Vi ses hastigt några gånger på mitt hotell, äter lunch, byter några meddelanden per telefon, han kör mig i sin bil, jag träffar några av hans vänner.

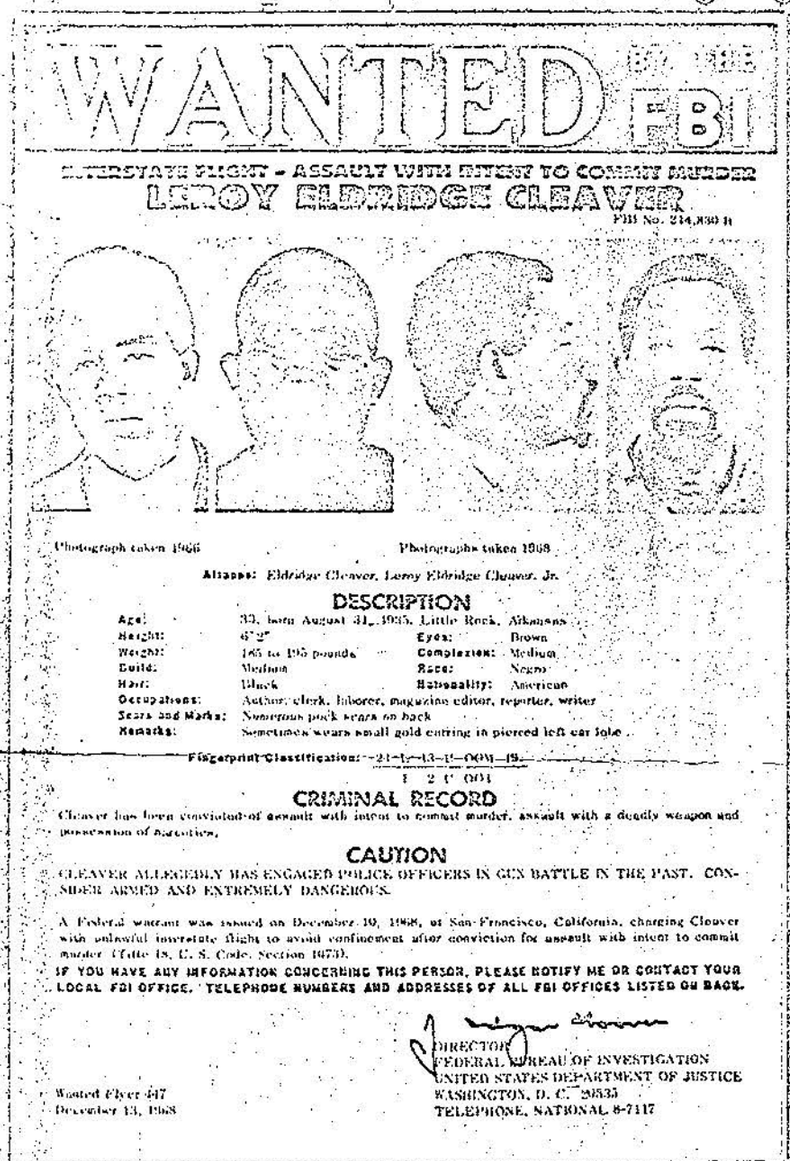
> **CLEAVER** *i ett brev 1965, publicerat i den första boken:* »Jag anser att det är mycket viktigt att människor verkligen lyssnar på varandra, på vad den andra har att säga, därför att det är mycket sällan som man träffar en person som är i stånd att ta en på allvar, eller sig själv heller för den delen.» Ur Fråga inte ditt land (Soul on Ice).

VID FÖRRA PRESIDENTVALET I USA var Cleaver kandidat för Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), en koalition mellan vita radikaler och The Black Panther Party (BPP). Kombinationen väckte protester i såväl det vita som det svarta Amerika. Är den sortens valpropaganda tänkbar för att förändra USA 1972, då Richard Nixons period löper ut?

»1968 upptäckte många nya människor, också vita, det fraktansvärda läget för de svarta i USA. Det skapade PFP, och tillsammans planerade vi en strategi byggd på valsystemet för att söka förändra USA. Nu kan man säga, att det var den sista chansen att utnyttja en kanal som givits människor då de önskar förändra ett system. Den arbetsmetoden är stängd nu för folket.»

Cleaver menar att det demokratiska partiets konvent i Chicago utgör en vändpunkt för de fattiga, nedtryckta amerikanernas tillitro till dagens demokrati. Han syftar på Chi-

utsände reporter en intervju från exilen i Alger



WANTED BY THE FBI

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

FBI No. 214,830 B

Photograph taken 1966 — Photographs taken 1968

Aliases: *Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.*

DESCRIPTION

Age:	33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas		
Height:	6'2"	Eyes:	Brown
Weight:	185 to 195 pounds	Complexion:	Medium
Build:	Medium	Race:	Negro
Hair:	Black	Nationality:	American
Occupations:	Author, clerk, laborer, magazine editor, reporter, writer		
Scars and Marks:	*Numerous pock scars on back*		
Remarks:	Sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe		

Fingerprint Classification: 21-L-13-U-000-19

1 2 U 001

CRIMINAL RECORD

Cleaver has been convicted of assault with intent to commit murder, assault with a deadly weapon and possession of narcotics.

CAUTION

CLEAVER ALLEGEDLY HAS ENGAGED POLICE OFFICERS IN GUN BATTLE IN THE PAST. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

A Federal warrant was issued on December 10, 1968, at San Francisco, California, charging Cleaver with unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

Wanted Flyer 447
December 13, 1968

- Författaren Eldridge Cleaver, det svarta befrielsekämpen för Svarta Panterpartiet, är sedan en av efterlysningarna av FBI-chefen J Edgar Hoover.
  Han betraktas som en av USA:s farligaste revolutionärer, enligt FBI.
- Cleaver är nu i Alger, efter att ett tag varit på Kuba och Nordkorea.
  Vår utsände reporter som träffade honom har en exklusiv intervju.
- Cleaver förklarar bl a på sak att de amerikanska revolutionärernas avsikt är att genom ett våldsamt gerillakrig söka bryta ner det amerikanska samhället. Cleaver tror att USA går mot en miljardkatastrof till presidentvalet 1972.
- Han vädjar till statsminister Palme att skydda honom och andra panterar mot CIA och vill att Sverige erkänner dem som en amerikansk befrielserörelse.
- Cleaver har aldrig förut redovisat sina avsikter så öppet för en europeisk tidning som i denna intervju.

cagopolisens brutalitet mot de demonstranter, som för några veckor sedan dömdes på ett sätt som hela världen tycks ha upprörts över,— inte enbart radikaler, vänstersympatisörer.

»De svarta i USA behövde inte Chicago, under 400 år har vi haft våra 'Chicago' från Mississippi till Kalifornien. Men de vita behövde Chicago, för att förstå facisternas, polisernas brutalitet, det våld som alltid utövats mot vårt folk. Chicago lärde oss att allmänna val som medel att förändra Amerika är omöjligt. 1968 var sista försöket. De bestämmande klasserna i USA tillåter inte fullt frihet, rättigheten att själva avgöra sitt öde. Nu återstår enbart revolutionen, vi måste ta ut striden till gatorna, och jag anser att striden redan är i gång, revolutionen har [illegible]

Detta avgörande steg, för Cleaver och BPP, från den konventionella, västliga politiska processens metoder, ser han som helt konsekvent, absolut inte som en oöverlagd handling beslutad i hastigt mot. Han sätter in beslutet, vad gäller det svarta Amerika, i en politisk utvecklingskedja som omfattar såväl 50-talets civilrättsliga massorganisationer, Martin Luther Kings ickevåldslinje som Charmichels agitation om Black Power.

»Vi tvingas ständigt förnya våra metoder. Målet är hela tiden att befria de förtryckta människorna i USA, ge dom mänskliga villkor. Nu återstår revolutionen.»

CLEAVER beskrivs någon gång, senast i Sverige av Sven Delblanc i prisboken »Åsnebrygga», som påfrestande, arrogant, överlägsen, som ett firat, litterärt societetslejon.

I sin egen miljö är han vänlig, omtänksam, hjälpsam, gästfri. De gånger under vår korta samvaro, han anar misstro, misstänksamhet, vänder humöret; en överlägsen blick, en frånhet i repliken, förakt.

EN REVOLUTION i det högindustriella, överflödsrika, polistyngda USA är den totala motsatsen till politiskt våld i Latin Amerikas djungel, från Kubas svårtillgängliga höjder, mot det fattiga Rysslands tsarvälde, i efterkrigstidens Europa, det redan kommunistiska Kina. Är den helt enkelt möjlig? Blodbad? Fyllda fängelser? Hur?

»Jag finner det oförskämt att ifrågasätta att amerikaner, när de väl analyserat sin situation och inte har någon annan utväg för att nå sin frihet, inte skulle vara kapabla nog att tillgripa de revolutionära möjligheterna. Det är ungefär som att säga, att vi från USA inte är likvärdiga mänskliga varelser.

Människor har alltid, överallt i världen, tagit en revolutionär ståndpunkt då omständigheterna och läget tvingat dem till det. Det är verkligt dumt att tro något annat.

Forts på nästa sida

”Inget presidentval 1972 – Pentagon tar makten”

— Jag tar det som en form av attack på det amerikanska folket, då du frågar på detta sätt. Tror du inte att vi amerikaner är klyftiga nog att välja rätt metod? Situationen i USA är sådan nu, att det krävs en revolution. Jag vet att många med mig begriper det, och är villiga att utveckla revolutionen.

LEDANDE PANTRAR I USA är kokett måna om sin klädsel: svart läderjacka, svart basker, militärskor, pantermärke, förr också ett vapen till hands. I Alger, då jag såg honom, strosade Cleaver omkring i en slapp, grön manchesterkostym, en annan dag i en svart-vit pullover. Lite rastlös, nervig, hemlängtan i blicken, utan försök att imponera.

LAW AND ORDER. Lag och ordning. I en tumultartad period i USA förnyas konservativa slagord av det slaget, vinner i respekt, polis och hårdföra politiker ökar sitt inflytande på samhällsutvecklingen. Cleaver hävdar, bland annat i en intervjubok, snart publicerad i USA och klar för översättning till svenska i höst, att detta leder till en »grekisk» militärkupp i USA. Det blir inget nytt presidentval 1972. Pentagons överstar har då tagit makten, med hjälp av storindustrin. Vad händer då i Europa, i NATO-länderna?

»Varför isolera Europa? Det blir reaktioner över hela världen. Världen får uppleva en monumental historisk händelse. Jag är övertygad om att USA:s ledning kommer att utövas som en komplett militärdiktatur. Den kommer att komplett förstöra hela den falska så kallade demokratiska fasad som USA nu döljer sig bakom, och det system som driver USA:s imperialistiska, kapitalistiska politik kommer att framstå klart.»

Men varför 1972? Inbördeskriget är ju redan nu en faktum, enligt BPP?

»USA är stort, ett till ytan väldigt land — svårt att kontrollera. I detta stora land ökar medvetandet om brutaliteten, förtrycket, och vid nästa presidentval, 1972, kommer miljontals och åter miljontals amerikaner att kräva en revolutionär ledning av landet. Jag ser ingen annan utväg, det kommer att gå på det sättet och själva kulmen kommer 1972. Pentagon, det vill säga försvarsdepartmentet, kommer aldrig att tillåta revolutionen att gå vidare, men dess omfattning kommer då att vara sådan att det krävs en stor militär insats för att kunna stoppa den.»

»Jag har, genom utvecklingen i USA, tvingats att inta en revolutionär inställning till regeringen. Jag ser inget annat sätt att ändra vårt system. Det finns ett obestridligt samband mellan verkställande ledningen för de stora företagen och försvarsdepartementet. Det är ofta samma personer som har inflytande på bägge håll. De kan inte tillåta revolutionen i USA gå vidare, de tvingas för att skydda sina egna intresssen, att stoppa den. De tvingas till det. Någon skillnad mellan de två stora partierna uppstår aldrig i en sådan situation, vid ett hot mot ett gemensamt intresse — som Pentagon och dess förhållande till storindustrin — står partierna enade. Militärerna har förut sökt ta den totala makten över landet. De har aldrig uppgett sina ambitioner. 1972 är det läge då de ledande klasserna kan vara överens om att överlåta all makt. Då framträder militärdiktaturen öppet.»

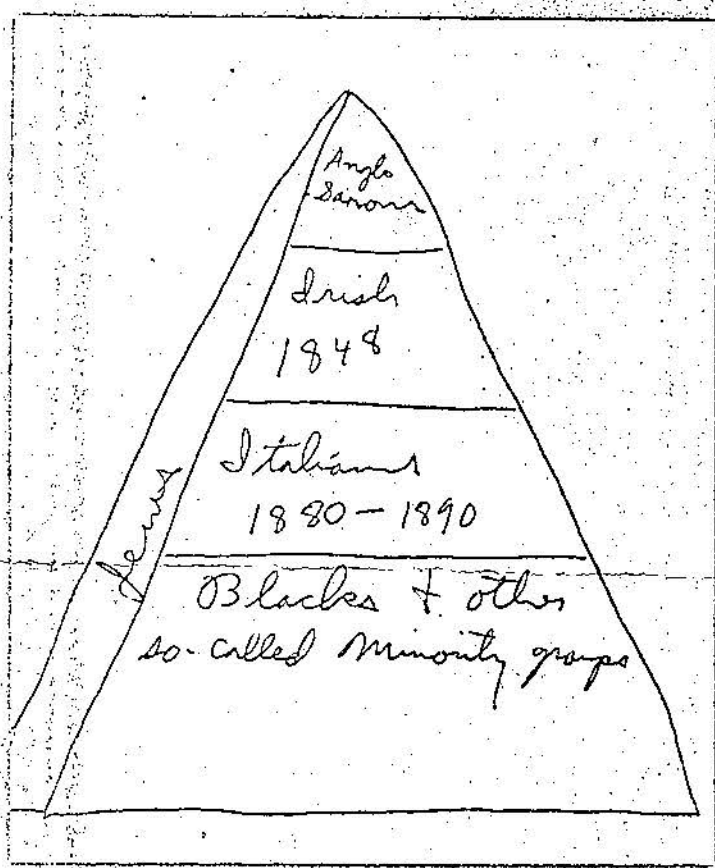
CLEAVER i Alger lever varje dag med sitt forna liv i USA, i ett flödande kärlekshat. I april har förläggaren i New York utlovats manuskript till den andra boken; materialet är helt amerikanskt. Den första är en litterär och ekonomisk succé, en miljon i upplaga. Konstnären Cleaver arbetar tidigt om morgnarna; i hemlandet i USA, och den övriga västvärlden, är han en konstnärlig befriare, förnyare, förlösare.

24 MEDLEMMAR AV BLACK PANTHER PARTY HAR DÖDATS, nästan hela ledargruppen sitter i fängelse eller har tvingats fly utomlands. Radikaler anser sig jagade som under 30-talets kommunisthets. Domstolarna verkställer hårda politiska dommar mot dem som aktivt, offentligt protesterar mot regeringen. Nixon accepterar ej ett förslag om utökat stöd för att häva fattigdom, kriminalitet. Eldridge Cleaver, och andra i USA, hävdar att ett nytt inbördeskrig redan är en realitet. Förstår människor i exempelvis Europa detta?

»I några delar av Skandinavien och i vissa svenska kretsar tycks man inte ens ha förstått att det vietnamesiska folket är i krig, har det sagts mig. Det finns olika grader av förståelse, olika sätt. En del människor tycks se på krig som en sorts underhållningssport. De grips aldrig av kriget på ett personligt plan, de uppfattar inte krigets verklighet som mänskliga varelser. Sådana människor ser inte krigets offer som systrar och bröder, som jämbördiga människor på jorden. De konstaterar något som påstås vara ett krig, långt borta, utan att det angår dem själva. Det räcker följaktligen inte med att förstå, att det är ett krig någonstans. Det krävs också ett personligt engagemang och intresse. Det tror jag fattas i Europa just nu för att uppfatta vårt eget krig i USA.»

USA-bilden i sin helhet i Europa, inklusive Skandinavien, är intimt kopplad till massmediastrukturen i USA. TV, press, radio — ofta starkt kritiskt och fientligt mot pantrar och andra radikaler — är huvudkällan för de egna rapporterna till Europa. Självständigt producerade program och reportage hör till undantagen. Vad betyder det för en radikal USA-grupp som söker internationell förståelse?

»Vi tycker oss förstå att högerpressen i Europa är ungefär som i USA. En del av dessa tidningar angriper oss hårt, slår ned



[illegible]

på våra åtgärder, baktalar vår rörelse. Men å andra sidan finns det flera kanaler i Europa för allmän information — TV, radio, tidningar, tidskrifter — som är rättvisa mot oss, inte förfalskar vårt budskap.

Till en del beror det, tror jag, på att många i Europa vill ge Onkel Sam ett litet helvete då och då, skälet är helt enkelt att Onkel Sam har behandlat Europa på ett förnedrande sätt, och nu passar en del nyhetsmedia på att ge igen.

Till sist finns det också några som helt enkelt är renhåriga, och en del finner det vara en viktig uppgift i att uppmuntra de krafter som vill ändra världen till det bättre. De ser det som något positivt att ge korrekt information om vad vi gör i USA. Det är bra.»

RASISM finns inte i Cleavers och BPP:s revolution. Alla, oavsett färg, skall störta systemet. Några vita ynglingar från Kalifornien, ett TV-team från Newsreel, dyker upp under mitt besök. De har filmat kriget mot Israel. Några algeriska ungdomar kommer, [illegible] kysses bolevat på kinde omfamnas traditionelit. Cleaver spelar amerikanska LP, i köket fixas en fårstek — kokboken är amerikansk. Yankee Doodle Dandy-socialism.

WEST-OAKLAND, skildrat i ✓ i fjol vårras, är ett av USA:s fattigaste, mest utsatta negerbetion. Tusentals svarta i ruckliga trähus. Aggressiv stämning. Panterpartiet bildades där. Startar den egentliga revolutionen också där?

»Nej! Revolutionen, i dess nästa skede, startar kanske i Alaska. När människor allvarligt analyserat sin situation, och bestämt sig för en revolutionär metod, är nästa steg att bestämma sig för var det är möjligt att åstadkomma största möjliga skada på det rådande systemet. I ett land som USA, där vi har att praktisera det urbaniserade gerillakriget, väljer revolutionären inte nödvändigt den plats där han bor. Det viktiga, just nu, är inte när och var. Det viktiga är att se till att revolutionen verkställs.»

Cleaver, och andra pantrar, arbetar sedan en tid med en ny organisationsform: North America Liberation Front (NALF) eller New World Liberation Front (NWLF); en motsvarighet, hävdar de, till frihetsrörelserna i Algeriet, Vietnam, Angola, etc.

»Små grupper i Amerika, några vänner i New York till exempel, fyra—fem killar, trötta på situationen, beslutar sig för att spränga en bank, spränga det, eller det. En sån grupp karakteriserar jag som en revolutionär enhet, en del av vår befrielserörelse. Överallt i USA finns det sådana grupper, jag vet det. De är förberedda på revolutionära aktioner. Senare, då dessa grupper har gjort sina första insatser, då kriget börjar ta en ny form, är det dags för oss att dra samman dessa enheter till större enheter. På det sättet skapar vi »The Peoples Army», folkets armé. Så har det skett överallt i världen då folket tar makten och så kommer det att ske i USA.»

En sådan armé, hävdar de, kommer att bestå av amerikaner, oavsett hudfärg. Innebär det, att Cleaver, anser sig ha fått ett svar på en återkommande fråga: är de vita radikalerna villiga att ta till vapen?

»När vi frågar vita radikaler på det sättet är det främst för att egga dem, sätta fart på dem. Det är nödvändigt för att få dem att ta en djupare ställning.»

Så det är mera en retorisk fråga?

»Det var, då jag frågade så, inget absolut krav. Jag talade så för att snabba på processen. Om vi inte hade gjort så, hade det tagit längre tid. Gång på gång träffar man människor som påstår sig vara sympatiskt inställda till våra krav, men som tar avstånd från våldet som metod. Nu när polisbrutaliteten framstår mera klart, också för de vita i USA, tvingas dessa människor till nya ställningstaganden.

Vi vill medverka till det, och vi säger nu se hur det är, se åtminstone till att du skaffar dig ett vapen, köp det. Lägg in det i ett skåp, skaffa ordentligt med ammunition. Många människor vägrar att göra så, trots att de vill ha en förändring av samhället. Fler och fler inser nu, att det är dumt att inte göra som vi föreslår.»

Cleaver hävdar att slaget om »The People Park» i Berkeley, Kalifornien, också skildrat i ✓ i fjol, utgör en vändpunkt för de vita radikalernas inställning till vapen.

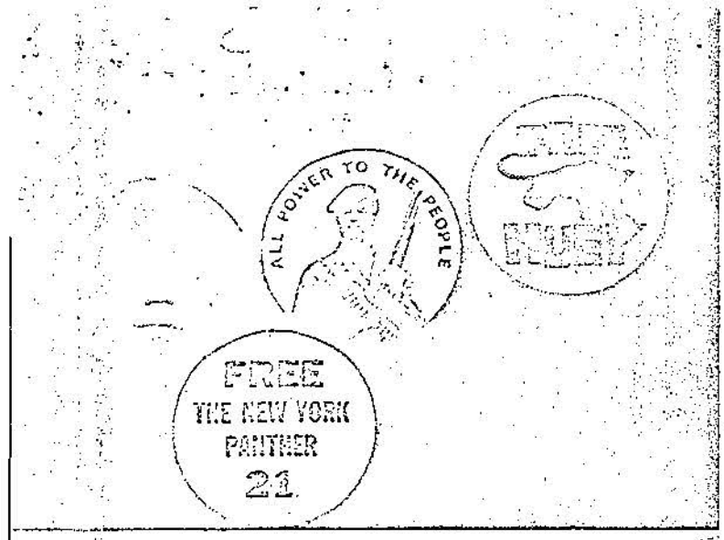
»Då sköt poliserna, som alla vet, ihjäl en vit grabb, och plötsligt insåg de vita radikalerna att det också gällde dem, att också de var hotade till livet av fascismen. Jag har många rapporter om att de vita skaffade sig vapen efter den läxan.

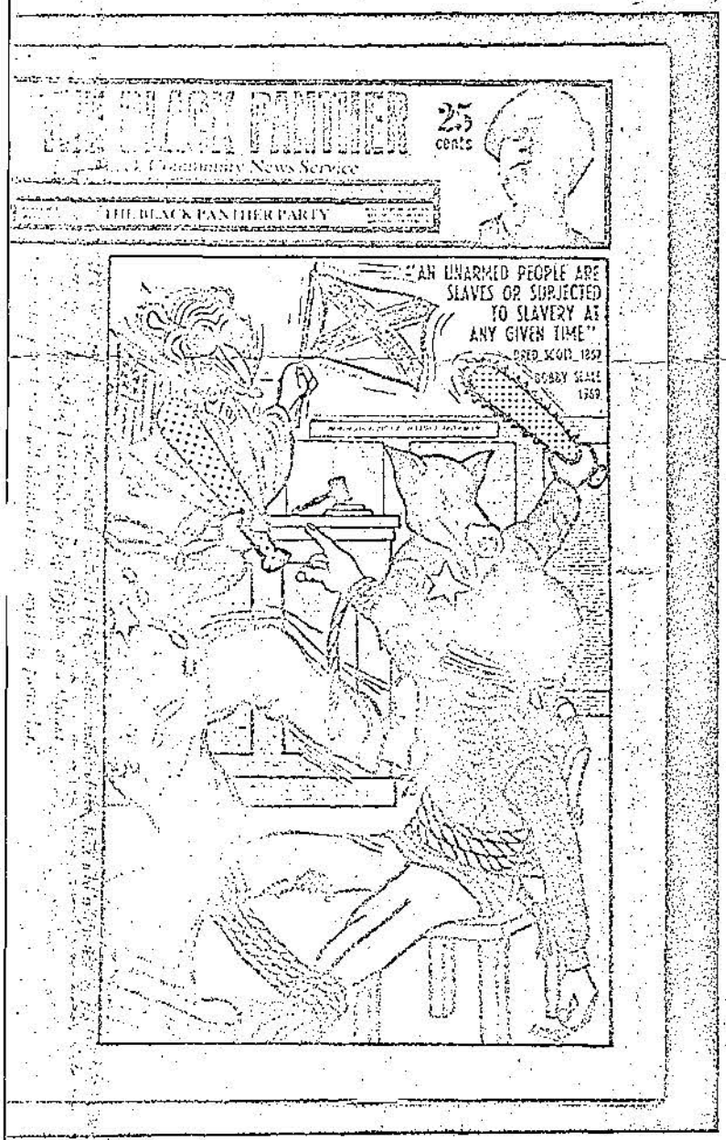
De av oss som kommer till vita hem för att se vapen, ammunitionen. Vi vet att de revolutionära verktygen finns i USA, alla de kommer att ha förstånd att utnyttja dem. Det är helt klart. Vi vet vad som måste göras.

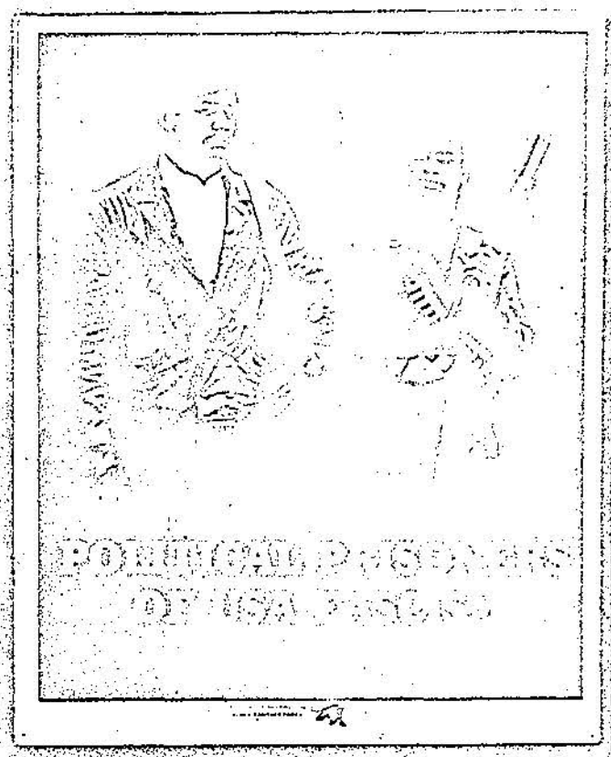
CLEAVER är ofta exilpolitikern överlämnad till andrahandsuppgifter. Vi äter havskräftor och dricker rosévin en lunch, och han frågar: taskigt med era förtryckta läppar va', i det demokratiska Sverige, nästan som med indianerna i USA, va'? Efter en jämförelse med Sydafrikas argument i saken frågan faller den frågan under bordet, istället diskussion om invandrare, franska zigenare, danska strejken. Enorm vetgirighet.

NYA SVARTA REVOLUTIONÄRA GRUPPER dyker upp i USA: The Republic of New Africa och The Leauge of Revolutionary Black Workers.

Forts på sid







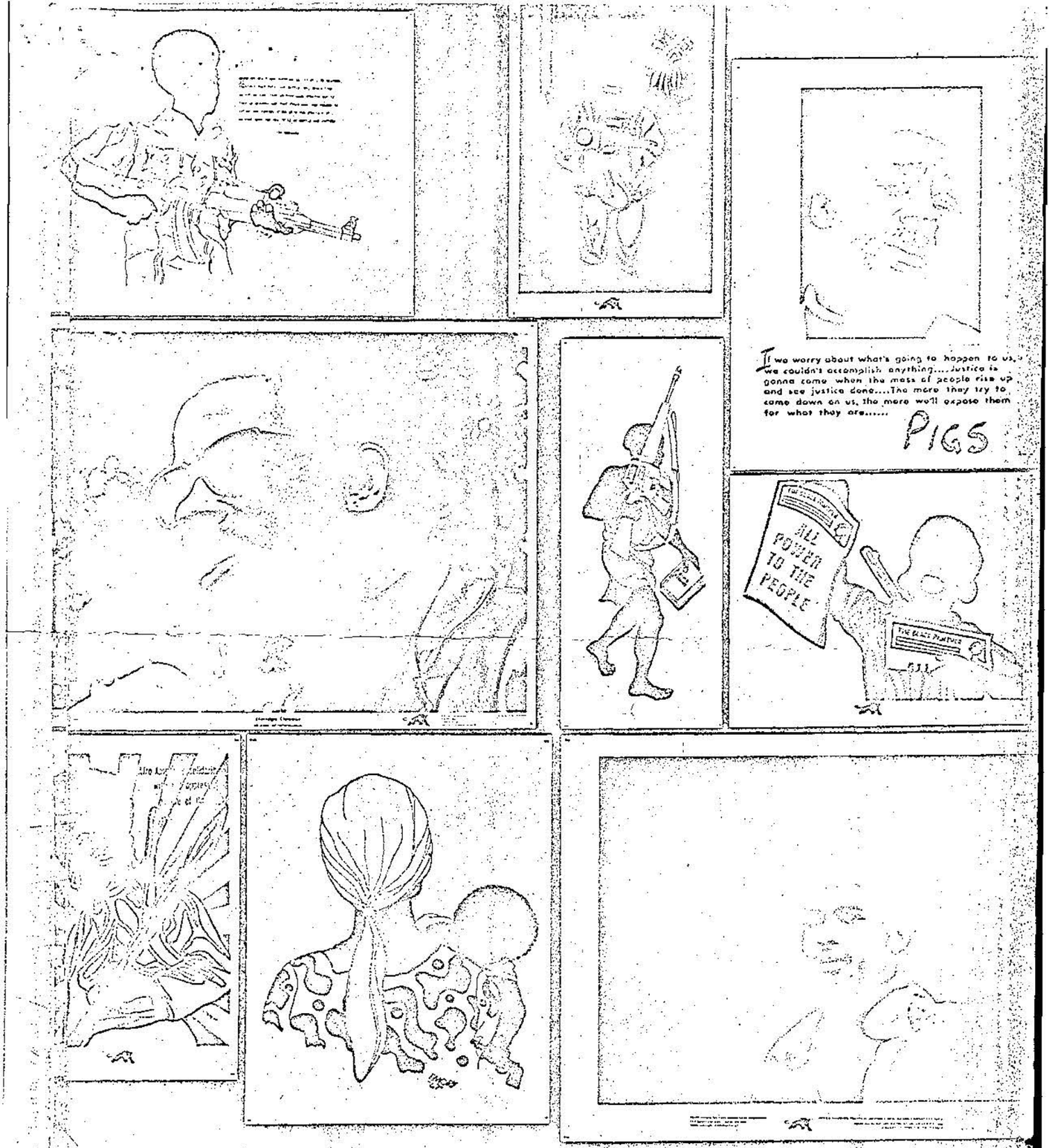
Överst. I pantrarnas propagandamaterial ingår färgstarka »buttons» att bära på rock- och kappslagot eller kanske, som pantrarna själva, på den svarta baskern.

Porträttet i mitten föreställer Bobby Hutton, tredje medlemmen i partiet. Han dödades av poliser i april 1968. Eldridge Cleaver sårades vid samma tillfälle.

Ovan. Veckotidningen The Black Panther är panterpartiets officiella organ. Upplagan är 75 000—100 000. Eldridge Cleaver är officiellt chefredaktör, »Big Man» Howard (nyligen på Sverigebesök) biträdande chefredaktör. Partiets kulturminister, Emory Douglas, gör layouten och teckningarna av pantrarna bekämpande samhällets makthavare, kallade »the pigs». Teckningen ovan ger scenen när Bobby Seale under rättegången i Chicago bundits och försetts med munkavle på order av domaren, Julius Hoffman (ritad som råttan uppe till vänster).

Man har haft problem med framställningen av tidningen, tryckeriet har utsatts för påtryckningar av andra kunder och (inofficiellt) från myndigheterna i Kalifornien. Man har grävt fram en gammal lag, State Criminal Syndicalism Law, som förbjuder utlärning och uppmaning till brott eller uppror. Guvernör Reagans juridiska konsulter hävdar att den skulle kunna användas för att dra in The Black Panther.

16



Så här kan PR för Pantrar se ut

Ovan. Emory Douglas, står för designen av de flesta affischerna. De används lika mycket i propagandasyfte utåt, t ex vid demonstrationer, *som för uppbyggelse inåt. Där partiet serverar »Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren»* och i de s k »Liberation Schools» har man väggarna klädda med affischer, och barnen får lära sig att känna igen de olika ledarna, som **Huey Newton** (partiets grundare och försvarsminister, f n avtjänande två till femtonårigt fängelsestraff för dråp, det är visserligen inte ens bevisat att han hade vapen), **Bobby Seale** (partiordförande som avtjänar ett fyraårigt fängelsestraff för »trots mot domstol»), och **Eldridge Cleaver.** Affischen längst ner till höger föreställer **John and S[illegible]gins.** John dödades av rengas rivaliserande sva[illegible]sation US, Ericka hä[illegible] halvår senare och ankl[illegible] »konspiration till mord». [illegible] sitt barn i fängelset, de[illegible] henne och adopterades att hon gavs tillfälle [illegible] någon tillfällig vårdnads[illegible]

17

Hur väljer Palme sida när tredje världen reser sig?

Börjar på sid 12

Komplott? Avsiktlig förvirring? Hur klipska är Amerikas revolutionärer?

»Det är fullständigt klart, att vi behöver ett maskineri som går vidare än BPP. Den frihetsrörelse som nu börjar ta form, NWLF, är ett sådant maskineri, och det är ingen direkt förlängning av vårt eget parti. Det är det nya som formas.»

Hur tidigt kom Cleaver själv underfund med behovet av gerillakrig, när valde han det revolutionära våldet?

»Jag och andra studerade de svartas varierande försök att skaffa sig frihet i USA, vi har levt med hela denna process — och sett den slås ned, förgöras, misslyckas. Malcolm X tog då upp behovet av självförsvarsenheter i de svartas ghetton, reste förslaget om att de förtryckta svarta måste skaffa sig vapen för att skydda sig mot polisens brutalitet.

Så mördades Malcolm X. Vi började samtidigt läsa Franz Fanons bok »Jordens fördömda», i vilken han argumenterar för våldsmetoder. På så sätt föddes, kan man säga, panterpartiet. Jag satt i fängelse på den tiden.»

Vanligen betonas självförsvarstekniken av pantrar: det heter »det är inte pantrarnas natur att anfalla, den anfaller först då den attackeras.» Cleaver utvecklar den historiska bakgrunden grundligare vid mitt besök, förklarar hur man från början tog ställning för gerillakriget.

»Detta nya budskap togs upp mycket väl. Jag satt i fängelse vid tiden, och jag erinrar mig hur mina bröder och jag i fängelset, sa oss, att när vi kommer ut måste vi praktisera Malcolms teorier.

Just då var Huey P Newton och Bobby Seale utanför (outside), och de förstod på samma sätt som vi innanför vad som sades. De organiserade partiet i oktober 1966. Jag kom ut från fängelse i december 1966. Det var just i rätt tid, medvetandet fanns där, vi var klara för ännu ett steg.

När man på det sättet medvetet väljer att beväpna sig, som vi tvingades att göra, måste man också ta upp en allvarlig diskussion om metoderna att använda vapen. Det gjorde vi.

Skall vapen användas på ett klassiskt militärt sätt? Hur skall du använda ditt gevär? Svaret blev, givetvis, att det enda sättet för folket är gerillatekniken. Vi kom fram till att gerillakriget var det enda sättet att klara vår situation. Det är historien hur det började.»

Cleaver har kommit till punkten utan återvändo, han upprepar argumenten gång på gång.

»Förutsägelsen är: **först** — regeringen kommer inte att ändras, den kommer att trycka ned människor, vägra frihet, tygla och styra människor, söka förstöra våra organisationer, allt detta; för det **andra** — vi svarta i USA ger inte upp våra krav, vi har gått genom allt från slaveri till mordet på Fred Hampton, vi stoppar inte, vi ger inte upp.

Det är inte vårt parti som är i en kris just nu, vilket ofta sägs. Det är de ledande klasserna i Amerika som är i en kris. Även om de dödar oss kan det användas mot dem och till de svartas fördel.

Vi fruktar inte döden. Vårt folk har kämpat för liv, lycka och frihet i 400 år, allt som vägrats oss, och vi tänker inte upphöra med den kampen nu. Vi är på väg att ge detta system dess dödsstöt. Vi tänker inte ge upp, särskilt inte då systemet utsätts för så många attacker runt om i världen.»

HAN ÄR EN ENSAM SMÅBARNSPAPPA. Maceo, ett halvår, och hustrun, Kathleen, är i Europa. Barnvagnen står undanskuffad i sängkammaren. I badrummet fladdrar några babykläder. Travar av disk reser sig i köket.

UTAN DET PRAKTISKT POLITISKA ENGAGEMANGET, det hårda ställningstagandet, skulle Eldridge Cleaver i dag vara en välbärgad, firad, uppskattad författare i USA. I stället är han i landsflykt, hotad av år i fängelse om han återvänder. Samtidigt skriver han. Delad i stycken? Olika arbeten, men samma mål? Utesluter aldrig det ena det andra?

»Jag tycker inte om att berätta om mitt författarskap. Jag föredrar att skriva, låta människor läsa om de vill, det är upp till läsarna att bedöma.

Självklart kan jag inte dela upp min person i olika fack. Det enda jag kan säga är, att när man har möjlighet att sitta ned och arbeta en längre tid med ett svårt ämne, kan man gå mera i detalj, ge mera av sin egen personlighet på ett mera uttrycksfullt sätt, finna flera tema, flera variationer.

Men anledningen för mig att skriva är trots det alltid den samma, antingen det gäller en pamflett, en artikel för en tidning, eller arbetet med en bok. Skälet är att ta upp de problem vi har att lösa.

Resultatet kommer ut på olika sätt, i olika former. Men jag är alltid samma person. Jag har alltid samma skäl för att skriva.»

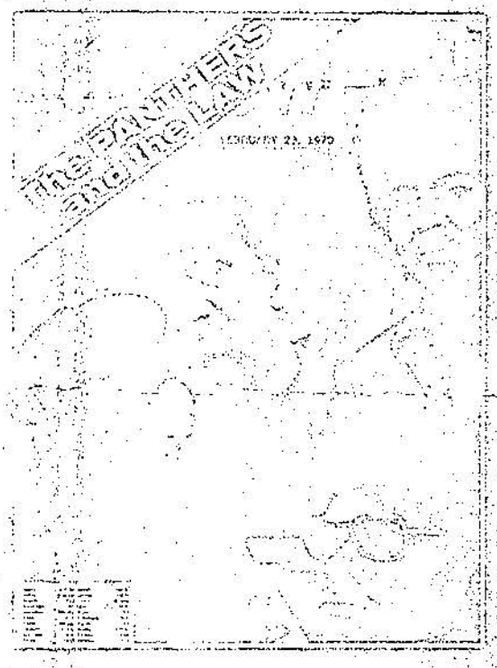
Cleaver har varit i landsflykt ett år. Hur kommer det att förändra hans författarskap?

»Well, nya saker att skriva om. Men den bok jag håller på med nu, handlar enbart om den period jag var ute från fängelset, till dess jag lämnade USA. Det vill säga från december 1966 till november 1968. Det är en viktig period för USA och »rörelsen». Jag skriver enbart om denna period, och därför har inte exiltiden förändrat mitt litterära arbete.»

Han kan förutse en ändring.

»Jag lever, tänker, arbetar i en ny värld sedan ett år. Framtiden är svår att bedöma — jag har många idéer, många uppslag, mycket jag vill göra. Det finns ett utkast, från fängelsetiden, till en roman. Kanske kan jag till min tredje bok fullborda den. Men det avgör omständigheterna, inte enbart jag.»

Vad läser han nu, den medvetet upproriske våldtäktsmannen som i ett fängelse bil-



Pantrarna betraktar den vita kapitalistiska pressen i USA som en av sina fiender — exempelvis nyhetsmagasinet Newsweek. En bara ett av sådana exempel att ställa upp i kampen för ett bättre samhälle.

Den vänsterpartist med Marige Gustavsson kommer att kallas av kommentatorer till vänster svensk som amerikansk till i kommande nummer.

dade sig själv, läste allt, blev en betydande konstnär?

»Jag läser en hel serie saker av kamrat Kim Il Sung, 40 miljoner nordkoreaners respekterade ledare. Av alla skrivande människor i världen, som jag känner, i arbete med problem om marxism-leninism, i korståget mot imperialismen, är han den mest intressante. Han har en positiv, realistisk syn på de problem som vi socialister brottas med, internationellt sett. Det är viktigast, men jag försöker läsa mycket, det är så mycket som är värt att läsa. Det enda som fattas är tid.»

En konstnär, pantern Douglas Emory, (se färguppslaget sid 16—17) har han särskilt hög respekt för.

»Emory är för folket själva nyckeln till The Black Panther Party. Vår ideologi, först formad av Huey Newton, framställs i sin mest klara, rena form av Emory. Det är den främsta hyllning jag kan ge, och jag anser Emory förtjänar det.»

BOKHYLLORNA BÄGNAR under historieböcker, bord och bänkar täcks av tidningar, klipp, utkast, till innehållsskisser till en ny tidning, »Right On».

Amerika i ord.

Han håller en lång, lärd pedagogiskt klar, antropologisk-historisk föreläsning om 1800-talets invandring från Europa till USA.

Amerika i kunskaper.

PANTRARNA, numera en numerärt liten elitorganisation, betonar ständigt en internationell aspekt på den amerikanska, blodiga gerillarevolutionen de anser vara oundviklig. Cleaver leder detta internationella arbete från Alger.

Från Stockholm sprids partiets tidning, och besökande pantrar hävdar ofta att Sverige är det enda europeiska land där de känner sig något så när säkra. Cleaver är medveten om detta.

»En internationell fiende, som den amerikanska imperialismen, måste bekämpas efter en internationell strategi. Hela världen måste stå upp mot kolonialism, imperialism, nykolonialism. Därför samarbetar vi med andra frihetsrörelser. Målet är att sätta in maximal styrka mot en gemensam fiende.»

Det ökar alltså de personliga riskerna — motståndet sätts också in utom själva USA?

»Ja. Vi tvingas ta de riskerna. Vårt parti är den enda organisation av svarta amerikaner som lyckats utveckla internationella förbindelser över hela världen. Vi har ett samarbete med frihetsrörelser överallt. Det är ett stort framsteg. Vårt mål i den revolutionära rörelsen utomlands som det amerikanska folkets företrädare.»

Jag tar upp den rörelsefrihet representanter för olika utländska frihetsrörelser har i Sverige, den form av erkännande det svenska samhället ger dem, och frågar: vill de amerikanska revolutionärerna få ett erkännande av den svenska regeringen?

»Ja, rent principiellt vill vi det. Det finns många länder i världen som vi inte önskar ha att göra med. Sverige hör inte till dem.

Vi anser att vi är jämbördiga med andra frihetsrörelser, de i Angola, i Syd-Vietnam exempelvis. Därför anser vi att den svenska regeringen skall behandla oss på liknande sätt, det vill säga officiellt erkänna vår existens.

Vi ifrågasätter den svenska regeringens politik på denna punkt. Varför erkänns vi inte?

Är det några särskilda skäl för att inte göra det, finns det särskilda intressen att ta hänsyn till?

Använder er regering några särskilda mått för vår del?

Måste den rådfråga den amerikanska regeringen i Washington, D C?»

Jag lovar, givetvis, att framföra hans frågor i vi.

»För vårt folks frihetskamp är det viktigt att kunna veta, att det finns några mot oss vänligt inställda länder i Europa, dit vi kan komma. Det är sant, att alla partimedlemmar riskerar sina liv, helt enkelt genom att bli aktiva medlemmar. Vi är inte i det läget att vi kan eller vill spela med våra liv i onödan. Ett folkmord är snubblande nära.

Vi är därför i ett desperat behov av den sortens garantier. Det vore mycket värdefullt för oss att få veta vad vi kan vänta oss av den svenska regeringen. I stället är det så nu, att vi tillåts komma till Sverige, men fruktar att bli väckta om natten av svensk polis och överlämnade till CIA. Frågan är allvarlig för oss. Vi har inget ordentligt svar från Sverige.»

Cleaver syftar bland annat på en föredragsturné som han inbjöds göra i Sverige i fjol, men senare avråddes från. Skälet var att arrangörerna inte kunde garantera att han inte överlämnades till Amerika, varifrån han flytt.

Han var fri, mot borgen, gick under övervakning, råkade in i ett handgemäng med polisen — och riskerar ett nytt, långt fängelsestraff i USA. — »Jag skulle gärna ha resa till Sverige. Jag är helt enkelt intresserad.»

Vad tänker er statsminister Palme och den socialdemokratiska regeringen göra om den Tredje Världen reser sig? Hur kommer den att förhålla sig till dessa länders socialism? Hur väljer Sverige sida?

Jag skulle gärna kommentera en del falska uppgifter i Sverige om oss av Coretta King. Fråga om svenska investeringar i Syd-Afrika. Titta lite på villkoren för den gåvan till Nord-Vietnam.

Men inte fan kommer jag upp till Sverige *till risken av mitt liv, för att överlämnas till* CIA och Nixon. Nä!»

INNE I STAN, I ALGER, spelas Peter Weiss' »Skråpuken». President Boumedienne leder en revolutionär jubileumsparad.

Huset i Cleavers förort ligger i en klunga, vitmenat, lite skevt, gistna trädgårdar. I sluttningen ned mot Medelhavet bo arbetare.

Det är inte bukten vid San Francisco i Kalifornien, Amerika.

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INTERVIEW WITH ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

By Goran holmberg

Source: VI, Swedish, place and date of publication unknown pp. 12-19

Did Marx, Lenin, and Ho Chi Minh live in the same exile atmosphere? Did they have the same daily problems? The same longing? Perhaps.

The apartment, in a suburb of Algiers in North Africa, is a combination of outward signs of the demands of the Third World; a revolutionary office and private hotel, the incompetence of the grass widower, a writer's lair, a newspaper office, American homesickness, the home of a couple in love or with small children, warm, open friendliness, hospitality toward some.

An important place; five rooms, the contents of which may contribute to changed conditions for the Western world. A visitor from "the outside" often finds himself walking on tiptoe.

Life moves, throughout the twenty-four hours of the day, around the telephone, a mimeograph machine, and -- Eldridge Cleaver, revolutionary exile politician, the author of the 1960's in the US, the Che Guevara of North America.

One time he burst out: "I hate Western reporters and news photographers. The only group I hate, except capitalists, imperialists, and

my political opponents, of course. Misunderstanding, intentional misquotations, deviltry. We ask the photographers for some pictures and they bring them -- with a bill for thirty-five dollars each. Oh . . "

I was there for two days, with a one-day interval, five or six hours. We see each other briefly some times at my hotel, have lunch together, exchange some information via the telephone. He takes me in his car, I meet some of his friends.

At the last presidential election in the US, Cleaver was the candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), a coalition of white radicals and The Black Panther Party (BPP). The combination aroused protests in white as well as in black America. Is this kind of election propaganda imaginable for the purpose of changing the US in 1972, when Richard Nixon's term expires?

"In 1968, many new people, including whites, discovered the terrible position of the blacks in the US. This brought the PFP into being, and together we planned a strategy based on the election system to attempt to change the US. Now it might be said that this was the last chance to make use of a channel given men when they wish to change a system. That method is now closed to the people."

Cleaver thinks that the Democratic congress in Chicago was a turning point for the faith in democracy of today for the poor, oppressed Americans. He has in view the brutality of the Chicago police toward the demonstrators, who some weeks ago were found guilty in a way which seems to have disturbed the whole world -- not only radicals and leftist sympathizers.

"The Black of the US did not need Chicago. For 400 years we have had our 'Chicagos', from Mississippi to California. But the whites needed Chicago to understand the fascists, the brutality of the police, the violence always visited upon our people. Chicago taught us that general elections as a means of changing America is an impossibility. The last attempt was made in 1968. The ruling classes in the US do not allow the people freedom, the right to determine their own fate. Now, only the revolution is left, we must take the struggle to the streets, and I regard the struggle as already being under way, the revolution has begun."

This decisive step, for Cleaver and the BPP, away from the conventional Western methods of the political process, he sees as completely consistent, absolutely not as an unpremeditated action, decided upon in a moment of hot courage. As concerns black America, he puts the decision into a chain of political developments which includes the civil rights mass organizations of the 1950's, Martin Luther King's line of nonviolence, and Carmichael's Black Power agitation.

"We are forced constantly to change our methods. The goal is always that of liberating the oppressed people of the US, give them human conditions. Now is left the revolution."

A revolution in the highly industrialized, affluent, police-burdened US is the total reverse of political violence in the jungles of Latin America, from Cuba's remote mountains, against the czarist domination of poverty-stricken Russia, in postwar Europe, the already Communist China. Is it at all possible? Bloodbath? Filled prisons? How?

"I find it impudent to question that Americans, when they have analyzed their situation and find no other way to gain their freedom, would not be capable of resorting to revolutionary means. It would be like saying that we of the US are not equal to other human beings.

Men have always, everywhere in the world, taken a revolutionary standpoint when circumstances and the situation force them to it. It is really stupid to believe anything else.

I take it as a form of attack upon the American people when you ask questions like that. Don't you think we Americans are shrewd enough to pick the right method? The situation in the US is now such that a revolution is required. I know that many along with me understand this and are willing to develop the revolution.

Law and Order. In a tumultuous period in the US, conservative slogans of this kind are renewed, gain respect, and police and tough politicians increase their influence upon social developments. Cleaver asserts, among other places, in a book of interviews soon to be published in the US and to be translated into Swedish this fall, that this will lead to a "Greek" military coup in the US. There will be no presidentaial election in 1972. The colonels of the Pentagon will have taken over power, with the aid of big industry. What will then happen in Europe, in the NATO countries?

"Why isolate Europe? There will be reactions all over the world. The world will experience a monumental historical event. I am convinced that the US will be governed as a complete military dictatorship. It will completely destroy the entire false, so-called democratic facade which the US now hides behind, and the system that drives the US imperialist, capitalist policy will appear clearly."

But why in 1972? Civil war is already a fact, according to the BPP.

The US is a large, a huge country in area, difficult to control. In this large country the consciousness of brutality and oppression is increasing, and at the next presidential election, in 1972, millions upon millions of Americans will demand a revolutionary leadership in the country. I see no other way out, this is what will happen, and the culmination will come in 1972. The Pentagon, meaning the Department of Defense, will never permit the revolution to go forward, but its extent will at that time be such that a great military effort will be required to stop it."

"Developments in the US have forced me to take a revolutionary attitude toward the government. I see no other way to change our system. There is an undeniable connection between the managements of the big enterprises and the Department of Defense. Often, the same persons have influence in both fields. They cannot permit the revolution to proceed, they are forced to stop it in order to protect their own interests. They are forced to it. No difference between the two big parties ever arises in such a situation; at a threat to a common interest -- such as the Pentagon and its relations to big industry -- the parties stand united. The military have tried before to take over total power over the country. They have never abandoned their ambitions. In 1972 there will be a situation in which the ruling classes will agree to turning over all power to the military. Then the military dictatorship will come out into the open."

Twenty-four members of The Black Panther Party have been killed. Almost the entire group of leaders are in prison or have been forced to flee the country. Radicals regard themselves as hunted, as under the Communist hunt of the 1930's. The courts impose hard political sentences upon those who actively, publicly protest against the government. Nixon rejects a proposal to reduce poverty and crime. Eldridge Cleaver and others in the US assert that a new civil war already is a reality. Do people, in Europe, for example, understand this?

"In some parts of Scandinavia and in certain Swedish circles it has not even been understood that the Vietnamese people is at war, I have been told. There are different degrees of understanding, various ways. Some people seem to regard war as a kind of spectator sport. They are never affected by war on a personal level, they do not grasp the reality of war as human beings. Such people do not see the victims of war as sisters and brothers, as human beings equal to themselves in the world. They see something said to be war, far away, but it does not concern them. Consequently it does not suffice to understand that there is war some place. Personal engagement and interest are also required. I believe this is being grasped in Europe just now, for understanding of our own war in the US."

The picture in Europe, including Scandinavia, of the US as a whole is closely tied to the mass media structure in the US. TV, press, radio -- often very critical and hostile to Panthers and other radicals -- are the main source of American reports to Europe. Independently produced programs

and reports are exceptions. What does this mean to a radical US group that seeks international understanding?

"We understand the conservative press of Europe is approximately like that of the US. Some of these newspapers attack us harshly, denounce our efforts, and slander our movement. But on the other hand there are several channels of information in Europe -- TV, radio, newspapers, journals -- that are fair to us and do not falsify our message.

I believe that this is in part due to the desire of many in Europe to give Uncle Sam a bit of hell now and then, the reason simply being that Uncle Sam has treated Europe in a humiliating way. Some news media now see the chance to pay him back.

Finally, there are some who simply are honest, and some who find it an important task to encourage those who wish to change the world for the better. They see it as something positive to provide correct information about what we are doing in the US. This is good."

West Oakland, described in VI last spring, is one of the poorest, most exposed Negro ghettos in the US. Thousands of blacks in ramshackle frame houses. An aggressive mood. The Panther party was formed there. Will the real revolution start there?

"No! The revolution, in its next stage, will perhaps start in Alaska. When human beings seriously analyze their situation and have decided upon a revolutionary method, the next step is to determine where it is possible to do the greatest damage to the existing system. In a country such as the US, where we must engage in urbanized guerilla warfare, the revolutionary does not necessarily pick the place where he lives. The most important thing right now is not when and where. The most important

thing is seeing to it that the revolution is carried out."

Cleaver and other Panthers have for some time been working with a new form of organization: the North American Liberation Front (NALF) or the New World Liberation Front(NWLF); a counterpart, they assert, to the freedom movements in Algeria, Vietnam, Angola, etc.

"Small groups in America, some friends in New York, for example, four or five guys, tired of the situation, decide to blow up a bank, blow up this or that. I characterize such a group as a revolutionary unit, a part of our liberation movement. I know that there are such groups everywhere in the US. They are prepared for revolutionary action. Later, when these groups have made their first efforts, when the war begins to take a new form, it will be time for us to pull these units together into larger units. In this way we create the People's Army. This has happened everywhere in the world when the people has taken over power, and it will happen in the US."

Such an army, they say, will consist of Americans, regardless of skin color. Does this mean that Cleaver thinks he has had an answer to the recurring question: Are the white radicals willing to take up arms?

"When we ask our radicals this question, we do so primarily to stimulate them, to get them to move. It is necessary to get them to take a more committed position."

So it is more than a rhetorical question?

"When I asked the question, it was not an absolute demand. I spoke as I did in order to hurry the process. Had we not done it, it would have taken a longer time. Time after time one meets people who

claim to be in sympaty with our demands but reject violence as a method. Now, when police brutality is becoming more apparent, for the whites in the US as well, these people are forced to change their position.

We will contribute toward this, and we now say: You see how it is, at least get yourself a weapon. Buy it, put it in a closet, get enough ammunition. Many people refuse to do it, although they wish to change society. But more and more of them now realize that it is stupid not to do what we propose."

Cleaver claims that the battle for "The People's Park" in Berkeley, California, also described in VI last year, was a turning point in the attitude of the white radicals toward weapons.

"As everybody knows, the police shot a white boy to death at that time, and suddenly the white radicals realized that they, too, were involved and their lives threatened by fascism. I have many reports to the effect that the whites procured weapons after that lesson.

Those of us who visit white homes see weapons and ammunition. We know that the tools of revolution are found in the US, and that more people will have the sense to use them. That is completely clear. We know what must be done."

Now black revolutionary groups are appearing in the US: The Republic of New Africa and The League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

A plot? Deliberate confusion? How cunning are the revolutionaries of America?

"It is completely clear that we need a machinery that goes farther than the BPP. The freedom movement which is now beginning to take form,

the NLF, is such a machinery, and it is no direct extension of our own party. It is a new one being formed."

When did Cleaver himself realize the need for guerilla warfare, when did he elect revolutionary violence?

"I and others studied the various attempts of the blacks to obtain freedom for themselves in the US. We have lived with this whole process -- and seen it beaten down, destroyed, and fail. Then Malcolm X took up the need for self-defense units in the black ghettos, and proposed that the blacks procure weapons to protect themselves against police brutality.

Then Malcolm X was murdered. At that time, we began to read Franz Fanon's book "The Condemned of the World," in which he argues for violent methods. In this way, it may be said, the Panther Party was born. I was in prison at the time."

The self-defense technique is usually stressed by the Panthers: "It is not the Panthers' nature to attack. They attack only when they are attacked." Cleaver developed the historical background more thoroughly during my visit, and explained how from the beginning the position in favor of guerilla warfare was taken up.

"The new message was received very well. I was in prison at the time, and I remember how I and my brothers in prison told one another that when we were released we must practice Malcolm's theories.

Just at that time Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale were on the outside, and they understood what was being said in the same way that we did. They organized the party in October 1966. I was released from

prison in December 1966. It was just at the right time. The awareness was there, we were ready for one more step.

When in this way one consciously elects to arm oneself, as we were forced to do, one must also seriously discuss methods of using the weapons. This we did.

Should the weapons be used in the classical military manner? How will you use your gun? The answer was, of course, that the only way for the people is the guerilla technique. We decided that guerilla warfare was the only way of mastering our situation. That is the story of how it began."

Cleaver had come to the point without turning back. He repeats the argument again and again.

"This is the prediction: First -- the government will not change, it will oppress the people, refuse freedom, restrain and control people, attempt to destroy our organizations; second -- we blacks in the US will not abandon our demands, we have gone through everything from slavery to the murder of Fred Hampton, we shall not stop, we shall not give up.

It is not our party that is in a crisis now, as is often said. It is the ruling classes in America that are in a crisis. Even if they kill us, it can be used against them, to the advantage of the blacks.

We do not fear death. Our people have fought for life, happiness, and freedom for 400 years, for all that has been denied us, and we do not intend to give up that struggle now. We are on the way to give this system its death blow. We are not thinking of giving up, especially not when the system is exposed to so many attacks round about in the world.

Had he not become engaged in practical politics and without his extreme political posture, Eldridge Cleaver would today have been a celebrated, highly regarded author in the US. Instead he is an exile, threatened with years in prison if he returns. He is still writing. Has he split himself up? Various efforts, with the same goal? Does not one part ever exclude the other?

"I don't like to talk about my writing. I prefer to write, let people read if they like, it is up to the readers to judge.

Obviously, I cannot divide myself into different segments. The only thing I can say is that if one can sit down and work for some time on a difficult theme, one can go more into detail, give more of one's own personality in a more expressive way and find more themes, more variations.

But despite everything my opportunity to write remains the same, whether a pamphlet, and article for a newspaper, or work upon a book. The reason for writing is taking up the problems we must solve.

The results vary and are in various forms. But I am always the same person. I always have the same reason for writing."

Cleaver has been in exile for one year. How will this change his authorship?

"Well, I have new things to write about. But the book I am at work on now deals only with the period between the time I was released from prison until I left the US, from December 1966 to November 1968. This was an important period for the US and the 'movement.' I am writing only about this period of time, and my time in exile has therefore not changed my literary work."

He anticipates a change.

"For a year, I have lived, thought, and worked in a new world. The future is difficult to foresee -- I have many ideas, many things I want to do. From my time in prison, I have a draft for a new novel. Perhaps I will finish it as my third book. But this will be determined by circumstances, not by me alone."

What is he reading now, this consciously revolutionary rapist, who educated himself in prison, read everything, and became an important writer?

"I am reading a whole series of things by Comrade Kim Il-Sung, the respected leader of 40 million North Koreans. Of all writers I know about who work with problems of Marxism-Leninism, in the crusade against imperialism, he is the most interesting. He has a positive, realistic view of the problems with which we socialists are struggling internationally. This is most important, but I try to read a lot, there is much worth reading. The only thing I lack is time."

He has special respect for an artist, the Panther Douglas Emory (see color plates pages 16, 17.)

"Emory is to the people the very key to the Black Panther Party. Our ideology, first formulated by Huey Newton, is presented most clearly and in its purest form by Emory. This is the greatest tribute I can pay, and I think Emory deserves it."

The Panthers, at present a numerically small elite organization, constantly stress an international aspect of the bloody American guerilla revolution they regard as inevitable. Cleaver leads this international work from Algiers.

The party's newspaper is distributed from Stockholm, and visiting Panthers often say that Sweden is the only European country in which they feel reasonably safe. Cleaver knows this.

"An international enemy such as American imperialism must be fought according to an international strategy. The entire world must rise up against colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism. Therefore we cooperate with other liberation movements. The goal is to mobilize the maximum strength against a common enemy."

This, then, increases the personal risks -- the resistance is put up outside the US as well?

" Yes. We are forced to take those risks. Our party is the only organization of black Americans that has succeeded in developing international connections all over the world. We have had cooperation with liberation movements everywhere. This is a great gain. Our goal in the revolutionary movement abroad as the representatives of the American people."

I speak of the freedom of movement enjoyed in Sweden by representatives of various foreign liberation movements, the form of recognition given them by Swedish society, and ask: Will the American revolutionaries be granted recognition by the Swedish government?

"Yes, we will, in principle. There are many countries in the world we will have nothing to do with. Sweden is not among them.

We regard ourselves as equal in merit to other liberation movements, those in Angola and South Vietnam, for example. Therefore we think

the Swedish government should treat us as it does them, meaning officially recognizing our existence.

We question the policy of the Swedish government on this point. Why are we not recognized? Are there special reasons for the refusal? Must special interests be taken into consideration? Does your government have special criteria where we are concerned? Must it consult with the American government in Washington, D. C.?"

I promise, of course, to present his questions in VI.

"It is important for the fight for freedom of our people to know that there are in Europe some countries with a friendly attitude toward us, where we can go. It is true that all party members risk their lives, simply by becoming active members. We are not in a position such that we can or will gamble our lives unnecessarily. A genocide is perilously close.

We are therefore in desperate need of such guarantees. It would be of great value to us to learn what we can expect from the Swedish government. As it is now, we are permitted to enter Sweden, but fear being awakened at night by the Swedish police and turned over to the CIA. The question is serious for us. We have had no real answer from Sweden."

Cleaver is referring, among other things, to a series of lectures he was to have given in Sweden last year, but which he was later dissuaded from. The reason was that the arrangers could not guarantee that he would not be extradited to America, whence he had fled.

He was free on bail; he was under surveillance, and got into a scuffle with the police -- and risks a new long prison term in the US. "I would have liked to go to Sweden. I am simply interested."

"What will your Prime Minister Palme and the Social Democratic

government do when the Third World revolts? What attitude will it take to the socialism of these countries? Which side will Sweden take?

"I should like to comment on some false information about us given in Sweden by Coretta King. Ask some questions about Swedish investments in South Africa. Have a look at the conditions for that gift to North Vietnam.

"But I will like hell go to Sweden at the risk of my life, to be turned over to the CIA and Nixon. No!"

- - -

Cleaver, in a letter in 1965, published in his first book: "I think it very important for people to really listen to one another. to what the other person has to say, because it is very seldom one meets a person who is able to take one seriously, or himself either, for that matter." (From "Soul on Ice.")

- - -

Cleaver is sometimes, in Sweden most recently in Sven Delblanc's prize book "Aasnebrygga," described as trying, arrogant, supercilious, and a celebrated literary social lion. In his own milieu, he is friendly, considerate, helpful, and hospitable. When during our short time together he suspected disbelief or suspicion, his mood changed and there was a haughty glance, and arrogance in his replies, contempt.

- - -

Leading Panthers in the US are foppishly careful about their dress: Black leather jacket, black beret, shoes of military type, a Panther emblem, formerly also a weapon at hand. In Algiers, when I saw

him, Cleaver slopped around in a green corduroy suit, and one day in a black and white pullover. A little restless, nervous, and with no attempt to make an impression.

- - -

In Algiers, Cleaver lives every day with his former life in the US, in an overflowing love-hate. His publisher in New York has been promised the manuscript of his second book. The material is all American. His first book is a literary and financial success, with a million copies printed. Cleaver the writer works early in the morning. In his native land, the US, and in the rest of the Western world, he is an artistic liberator, renewer, and deliverer.

- - -

Racism is absent in Cleaver's and the BPP's revolution. Everybody, regardless of color, is to overthrow the system. Some white youths from California, a TV team from Newsreel, appear during my visit. They have filmed the war against Israel. Some Algerian youths appear. The girls are politely kissed on the cheek and are traditionally embraced. Cleaver plays American LP's, in the kitchen roast lamb is being prepared -- the cookbook is American. Yankee Doodle Dandy socialism.

- - -

Cleaver is often the exile politician left to secondary tasks. We eat lobster for lunch and drink vin rose. He asks: "Too bad about your oppressed Lapps, isn't it? In democratic Sweden, almost like the Indians in the US." After a comparison with the South African argument on the same problem, the question is dropped. An enormous thirst for knowledge.

- - -

He is the lonely father of small children. Maceo, six months of age, and his wife, Kathleen, are in Europe. The baby buggy is put away in the bedroom. Baby clothes hang in the bathroom. There are stacks of dishes in the kitchen.

- - -

The bookshelves are filled to overflowing with books on history, tables and chairs are covered by journals, clippings, proposed tables of contents of a new newspaper, Right On. America in words.

He gives a long, learned, pedagogically clear anthropological-historical lecture on the emigration from Europe to the US in the 1800's. America in knowledge.

- - -

In the city, in Algiers, Peter Weiss' play "The Drum" (Title translated from Swedish, "Skrapulon") is being shown. President Boumedienne leads a parade celebrating the anniversary of the revolution.

The house in Cleaver's suburb lies in a cluster of houses, white-washed, leaning a little, and with cracked wooden doors. Workers live on the slope down toward the Mediterranean.

This is not the Bay at San Francisco, California.

- - -

This interview with Eldridge Cleaver will be followed in another issue of VI by comments bySwedish as well as American circles.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES G ERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC IAM/DCG/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 5-27-70

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) (P.)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE - IO #4239
WANTED FLYER #447
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(OO: San Francisco)

ReROMlet 3-19-70.

On 3-27-70 and on 5-11-70 [redacted] advised they have not developed any information indicating that CLEAVER had transited that country.

b7D

To date neither [redacted] nor the [redacted] has received any additional information in this matter.

The Rome Office will continue to follow this case with alerted sources in Italy and Greece and keep the Bureau informed of any pertinent information received.

5 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(2 - San Francisco, 88-12329)
1 - Rome
TJB:HD
(6)

REC 16 100-447251-816

2 cc this let

for action

22 JUN 2 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

66 JUN 17 1970

SECRET

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MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 6-10-70

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (88-256)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE
RM - BPP
00:SF

WF 447
4239

(S)

[redacted]

b1

Copies of this material have not been retained by this office.

3 - Bureau (Enclosures)
(1 - Liaison Section)
2 - Paris
(88-256, 87-26)
NWP:jmw
(5)

ENC. BEHIND FILE

REC-82 100-447251-820

DATE: 06-22-2006
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JUN 15 1970

FUG. SECT.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7C

Copy to: San Francisco (Cleave)
by routing slip for
info action
date 7-20-70
by ERS/DRL

SECRET

JUL 29 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 6/22/70

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER aka
FUGITIVE
WF #447
IO #4239
RM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER
(OO: SF)

b6
b7C

Re Pittsburgh tel to NY, 5/14/70; Charlotte tel to NY 5/24/70.

The following investigation was conducted at NYC:

On 5/18/70, [redacted], NYC, advised that he had no knowledge of subject's whereabouts and that he has never met subject at any time in the past. He declined to make any further statements concerning this matter.

On 6/10/70, [redacted] Brooklyn, NY, advised that she recently returned from a motor trip in the sourthern part of the U.S. and that while traveling through North Carolina she and her husband gave a ride to three Negro males.

She advised she does not know the subject and has no interest in the activities of any racial group or organization.

According to [redacted], she was only helping three people in their travels and did not obtain the names of the Negro males she gave a ride to.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

2- Bureau(RM)
2- San Francisco (88-161321) (RM)
1- New York (43)

REC-109 100-447251-821

JUN 23 1970

JLL:tf
(5)

b6
b7C

FUGITIVE SUP. [redacted]
RACIAL INTELL.

54 JUL 1 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-01

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 6/30/70

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (88-5487) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE
IO # 4239
WANTED FLYER # 447
RM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(OO: SF)

Re Bureau letter to SAC, Albany, 1/13/70.

Racial informants and racial sources of the Tampa Office all have been alerted for information concerning a possible escape route used by CLEAVER and information concerning CLEAVER's returning to the United States.

Tampa Office has alerted U. S. Customs, officials of the Tampa International Airport, Tampa Police Department, Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office as well as other local sheriff's offices and police departments concerning CLEAVER and concerning the potential return of CLEAVER to the United States.

Any information furnished to the Tampa Office relating to CLEAVER's possible travel to the United States or any other area of the world will be expeditiously furnished to the Bureau and San Francisco.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

EX-115

REC-57 100-447251-822

(2) - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (88-12329)
1 - Tampa
JEH:rmt
(5)

15 JUL 2 1970

FUGITIVE

SIX

JUL 10 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

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DATE 06-22-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL/30/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
FUGITIVE
IO #4239
WANTED FLIER #447
RM-BPP; UFAC -
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT
AGAINST THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: San Francisco

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are 17 copies of an LHM which includes sufficient copies for Legats London and Paris.

b2

SF T-1 is [redacted].

The enclosed LHM is being classified confidential to protect a source, whose identification or compromise could adversely affect the national defense of the U.S.

THE SUBJECT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

1cc A/T + 3cc LHM - Legats London Paris

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: ~~ACSI, NIC~~, OSI, SEC. SERV., ICDSO, CIA, STATE
DEPT: ISD, ~~CRD, IRD~~, IDIU, CD (SWP)
HOW FORW: RS
DATE FORW: 7/8/70 page 4 deleted
BY: ERS/JRS

2 - Bureau (Encls.17)
8 - San Francisco (157-4324)
(1 - 157-5442)(6/19/70 Rally In Washington, D.C.)
(1 - 157-2871)(International Relations)
(1 - 157-1581)(Publications)
(1 - 157-1057)[redacted]
(1 - 157-1274)[redacted]
(1 - 100-)(CP, USA)
(1 - 100-)(WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)

RNB/krh
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REC 9
JUL 8 1970

SIXM
FUG/SUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

June 30, 1970

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL
ON 06-22-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

A characterization of the BPP is attached.

SF T-1 advised on June 29, 1970 that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, BPP Minister of Information, who is in self imposed exile in Algeria, has indicated he is very displeased that he was not consulted by BPP leadership concerning developments immediately preceding the rally in support of the BPP at Washington, D.C., on June 19, 1970, and also because he did not receive a detailed report immediately following the rally.

Cleaver has also inquired of BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, California, about some pamphlets written by Kim Il Sung, Premier of North Korea, which Cleaver sent to BPP National Headquarters for reprinting. It was determined that they were received at National Headquarters, but have not been reprinted as yet.

BPP National Headquarters has also been advised that Cleaver hopes to begin printing a bulletin in Algeria soon, and he has requested that he be furnished more and better information and that he will also need better equipment. Source has no further information at this time concerning this proposed bulletin.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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100-447251-823

ENCLOSURE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Cleaver has also complained to BPP National Headquarters that he has not been receiving all of the mail sent to him by BPP National Headquarters. This apparently includes BPP newspapers that are sent to him regularly. Cleaver has issued new instructions that he be sent 50 copies of "The Black Panther" newspaper each week and that this shipment should be packed in several packages to prevent the entire shipment from being confiscated or misrouted.

Cleaver, also, recently reported to BPP National Headquarters that he has heard from [redacted] and also from [redacted] was not further identified but it is presumed he refers to [redacted] is presently in Pyong Yang, [redacted] North Korea [redacted] and apparently she is accompanied by [redacted] and [redacted]

b6
b7C

Eldridge Cleaver recently inquired about the response to his new articles on the ideology of the Black Panther Party and was advised that it is too soon yet for a full reaction. He was told, however, that William L. Patterson, National Committeeman of the Communist Party, USA, recently stated to a BPP National Official, that the Communist Party wanted him to attack the Black Panther Party because of Cleaver's articles on ideology, which are critical of the Communist Party. Patterson stated that he refused to attack the BPP.

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

LEADS:

It is requested that appropriate sources be alerted at London, England and Paris, France for the appearance of the BPP bulletin which Cleaver is endeavoring to print in Algeria. If such a bulletin appears, please furnish copies to the Bureau and San Francisco.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

June 30, 1970

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character RACIAL MATTER- BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference San Francisco memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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